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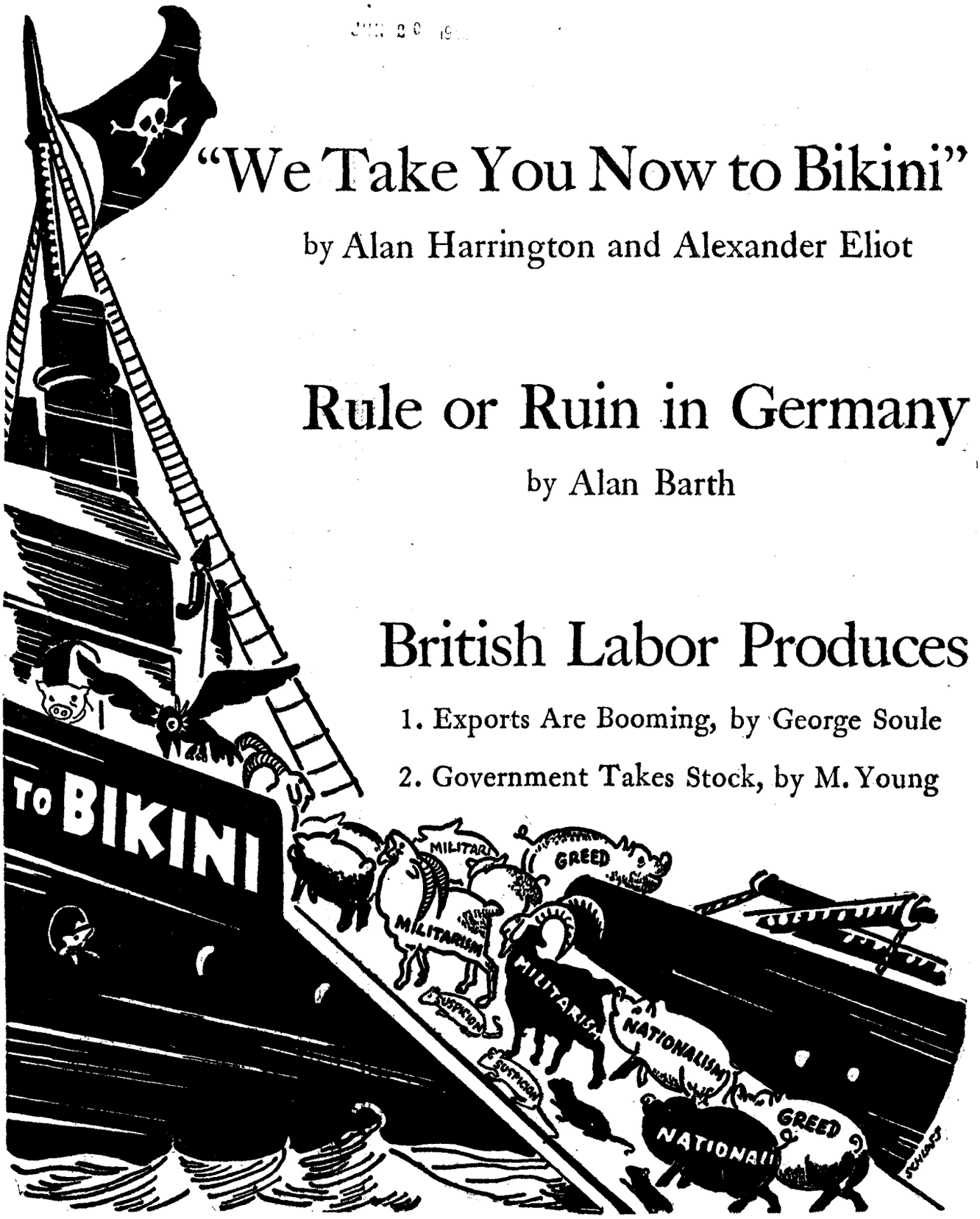

"We Take You Now to Bikini"

by Alan Harrington and Alexander Eliot

Rule or Ruin in Germany

by Alan Barth

British Labor Produces

1. Exports Are Booming, by George Soule
2. Government Takes Stock, by M. Young

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For 297 Days MR. ATTLEE Has Ignored Our President's Request...

297 days ago—on August 31, 1945—President Truman asked Prime Minister Attlee to admit 100,000 Hebrew displaced persons into Palestine. What has become of this humane and statesmanlike request? Has Britain made one move to get these desperate people to the only home that waits for them? Or have they used every dodge, every delay, as blunt as the word "NO"? Whatever the conspiracy, it is now clear—the American people will not let this just and humane plea by our President remain buried under a snarl of red tape, diplomatic double-talk, and cynical postponement.

How many times must a President of the United States call for urgent action before the British Government takes him seriously?

Is the Nazi-Mufti's flight to Damascus the British answer to our President?

How many times must the Congress of the United States express the heart-felt feeling of the American people on this subject before the British realize we mean business?

". . . No other single matter is so important for those who have known the horror of concentration camps over a decade, as is the future of immigration possibilities into Palestine. . . . The American people, as a whole, firmly believe that immigration into Palestine should not be closed, and that a reasonable number of Europe's persecuted Jews should, in accordance with their wishes, be permitted to resettle there. . . . The main solution appears to lie in the quick evacuation of as many as possible of the non-repatriable Jews who wish it, to Palestine. If this is to be effective, such action should not be long delayed." —**President Truman's letter to Prime Minister Attlee, August 31, 1945.**

Delay, Delay . . .

In response to the President's letter of August 31, 1945, the British hemmed and hawed for ten weeks.

THEN, on November 13, 1945, the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry was announced. It took a couple of months to start this inquiry.

THEN, the Inquiry Committee suppressed the attempt by several of its American members to issue an interim report from Vienna, calling for immediate help to the Hebrews still persecuted and dying in concentration camps.

THEN, the Anglo-American Committee filed its report on April 30, 1946. President Truman again urged that the 100,000 be transferred to Palestine with "the greatest dispatch."

THEN, Prime Minister Attlee announced that the admission of the 100,000 depended on American financial aid, American military aid, disarmament of resistance forces in Palestine.

THEN, the British Foreign Office and the American State Department started consultations with all groups who originally testified before the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry to find out how they feel about the Committee's report.

THEN, secret meetings of Arab feudal leaders were held—and are being held—in Damascus, in Cairo, in other cities. The plans call for the shedding of blood—Moslem blood, Jewish blood, Christian blood—just as long as there is trouble which makes headlines around the world.

NOW, the Nazi-Mufti, notorious war criminal, Hitler's friend, whom the French army captured in Germany, has just been flown from France to Damascus to light the fuse for Palestine.

AND NOW Ernest Bevin informs the world that Britain will not go through with the 100,000. In a statement reminiscent of Goebbels and Father Coughlin, he finds that the issue is purely of concern to the New York Jews.

Why This Conspiracy?

It is a stall for time.

Time—so that the Nazi-Mufti and other former Axis agents in the Middle East can organize riots and violence inside Palestine.

Time—so a million-and-a-half Hebrews stranded in Europe, can become the victims of rising anti-Semitism and continued pogroms.

Time—so that American soldiers in Europe can be put into the position of jailors, assigned to force the Hebrew people back into their ghettos.

All this delay is creating a powder keg inside Europe and the Middle East.

AMERICANS—BACK THE PRESIDENT

Write or wire the President. Urge him to ignore British diplomatic trickery, just as they have ignored, for nine months, his forthright, humane appeal. Palestine is not British territory; it is the national territory of the Hebrews.

Urge the President:

To commence action moving the 100,000 Hebrews to Palestine, without British assistance. American Army officers have testified that they can move more than the 100,000 to Palestine in less than a month.

To give the Army Transportation Corps the job of bringing 100,000 Hebrews from Europe to Palestine. Deduct the cost from German reparations to the Hebrew Nation.

To bring the Hebrew Brigade, now in Western Europe, back to Palestine where they will provide all necessary military security without American troops.

To direct his Palestine Policy Committee, consisting of the Secretaries of State, Treasury and War—to devote themselves to the problem of repatriating 1,400,000 Hebrews who will remain in peril in Europe and Africa. ALL THE HEBREW SURVIVORS OF HITLERISM HAVE THE RIGHT TO GO TO PALESTINE.

You Can Save 100,000 Lives

Back our request to the President that he order this operation to begin now! Mobilize American public opinion behind this program. Join the American League for a Free Palestine—become an active member! Give us the financial means necessary to carry out this campaign successfully! Send your contribution.

If you think 297 days is delay enough, get active—join the American League! Join NOW!

American League for a Free Palestine, Inc.
25 West 45th St. • New York 19, N. Y. • BR. 9-4600

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THE NEW REPUBLIC

A Journal of Opinion

VOL. 114, NO. 25 NEW YORK, MONDAY, JUNE 24, 1946 NUMBER 1647

The Baruch Report

IN A SCENE of utmost historic significance, the American proposal for control of atomic energy has now been given to the United Nations. The plan, commonly known by the name of the chairman of the American committee, Bernard M. Baruch, has the following as its chief features:

An International Atomic Development Authority is proposed which shall have complete control of the production, development and use of fissionable materials and atomic energy, at all times and throughout the world.

All activities in this field would be subject to continuous inspection and control by the IADA at all times, and many of the processes would be operated directly by it.

Use of atomic energy for war purposes would be prohibited, with drastic penalties for violation. Mr. Baruch recommends that the same prohibition also apply to "illegal uses of other weapons—bacteriological, biological, gas—perhaps—why not?—against war itself."

It is recommended that the veto now possessed by each of the Big Five in the United Nations Security Council over the actions of the Council should be abolished, as regards the actions of the IADA only.

The United States is prepared to reveal the secrets of atomic energy, in so far as they still exist, to the IADA, gradually, over a period of time, as this information is found necessary for its operations and as adequate international guarantees are brought forward against the misuse of such information. Although not specifically promised, it is implicit in Mr. Baruch's statement that eventually every shred of information this country possesses shall be turned over to the IADA. This country offers to make no more atomic bombs, after firm guarantees of security have been given, and either to destroy its existing stockpile of bombs or turn it over to the IADA.

Heavy emphasis is laid upon the development of atomic energy for peacetime uses, which is to be done either by the IADA or under its control and license.

Stockpiles of fissionable materials and operating plants would be decentralized throughout the world so as to avoid any dangerous concentration, at any point, of the terrible potential power.

Mr. Baruch's report concludes with a passage paraphrasing Lincoln:

We cannot escape history. We of this meeting will be remembered in spite of ourselves. No personal significance or insignificance can spare one or another of us. The fiery trial through which we are passing will light us down in honor or dishonor to the latest generation.

We say we are for peace. The world will not forget that we say this. We know how to save peace. The world knows that we do. We, even we here, hold the power and have the responsibility.

We shall nobly save, or meanly lose, the last, best hope of earth. The way is plain, peaceful, generous, just—a way which, if followed, the world will forever applaud.

Mr. Baruch's dramatic appeal is well justified. The three new weapons the United States now possesses, the atomic bomb, radioactive gases and bacteriological warfare, have brought war into a fourth dimension. They may not literally destroy all mankind, but they could kill so many people, and so paralyze the processes of civilization, that we could easily be thrown back to a condition of utmost savagery. As things now stand, the chances are better than even that this is what will happen. The discovery of atomic energy came about fifty years too soon. We are in the process of learning to live together in a world which has suddenly grown too small for our previous attitudes to be endurable. We are suffering from the worst of all cultural lags. Never in history have the nations made any sacrifices for the common good of mankind paralleling those they are now called upon to make. On the other hand, never in history have the consequences of refusal been so dire.

The two nations whose response to the atomic-energy plan is most important are Russia and the United States. As we write, the Russian response has not been indicated, but obviously there are great difficulties in the way. To the Russians, the absolute veto in the Security Council has been the heart of the United Nations proposal, since they regard themselves as standing alone in a world of hostile capitalism bent upon the destruction of their society. The Baruch plan would require that representatives of the IADA be permitted to enter Russia and study her activities in this important field. She could not continue independent research or individually operate her mines containing fissionable materials.

While Mr. Baruch spoke for the American delegation to the UN Atomic Energy Commission, it is already apparent that he does not have the full support of American public opinion or of Congress and the

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State Department. American isolationists like W. R. Hearst and Senators Capehart and Bridges have attacked the plan as not properly safeguarding the interests of this country. That there will be many more of these attacks seems certain.

A deeper criticism is, of course, that this is only a scheme for controlling a weapon or group of weapons, even though they are the most dreadful in the history of mankind. All human experience suggests the folly of trying to modify the character of war without seeking to find and eradicate its fundamental causes. The Russian intransigence is based primarily on fear—the fear that the capitalists of other countries want to destroy their experiment in collectivism. The American intransigence is also based on fear—primarily the fear among beneficiaries of our present system that their special advantages under it will be taken away from them.

The task before us is dismayingly great but certainly not hopeless. In this country we must mobilize the forces of public opinion behind the general principles of the Baruch report—not necessarily in all its details—so overwhelmingly that the Hearsts and Capeharts will be put to rout. As for the Russians, we must do everything in our power to defeat those Americans whose attitude is in fact as hostile as the Russians believe it is; and we must then persuade the Russian people, who want war just as little as do Americans, that their best hope is coöperation. These are huge tasks, but they must be performed. The alternative is mass suicide.

The Senate Votes for Inflation

The Senate, as had been expected, outdid its Banking and Currency Committee in attaching crippling amendments to the price-control bill. When the upper house finished with price control, at the end of three days of half-hearted debate, little or nothing was left. Whether the Senate bill is worse than the House measure, or the other way around, is a fine point: both are murder.

Between them, the two bills would drive the cost of living up at least 25 percent in the next six to nine months by: (1) removing all price controls from meat, poultry, dairy products, tobacco and petroleum products on July 1; (2) making inevitable the dropping of price control on bread and cereals shortly thereafter; (3) requiring the elimination of all price controls on products not important to the cost of living by January 1; (4) raising the prices of virtually all manufactured products through the requirement that the Office of Price Administration set prices high enough to give manufacturers, distributors and retailers their 1941 profits plus all increased costs; (5) raising the prices of automobiles, many household appliances and farm machinery by providing that dealers will not be forced to absorb some of the higher cost of manufacturing; (6) raising the prices of clothing by the elimination of the OPA's maximum-average-price plan for the production of low-cost clothing, and by increasing the cost of materials.

Among all the basic elements in the cost of living, only rent escaped. And both Chester Bowles, head of the Office of Economic Stabilization, and Paul Porter, director of the OPA, have warned that it would be impossible to hold rents with everything else soaring.

On top of all this, the OPA and the OES would lose their final authority over agricultural prices, and over the decontrol of both agricultural and non-agricultural products. They would be hamstrung administratively by the requirement that they alter their whole basis of pricing and bring no enforcement action without the consent of the local district attorney.

A few friends of the Administration are talking hopefully about the possibility that the conference committee which must reconcile the two bills will somehow improve them. It seems to be wishful thinking. Those who want an effective price-control bill see only one slim chance: a presidential veto and the passage of a resolution continuing the OPA for a limited number of months. The OPA may expire in the process, but no price control at all would be little worse than what has been voted by the Senate and House. The type of control they have plumped for would only prolong the agony, while deceiving the people with the thought that they had some measure of protection.

Rider on Reorganization

To the great surprise of most Washington prophets, the LaFollette bill to reorganize Congress has passed the Senate by the overwhelming vote of 49 to 16. If the House goes along, the members of Congress can now look forward to better staffing, streamlined committees, higher pay, pensions, a joint legislative-executive council, the registration of lobbyists, and relief from the present burden of bills dealing with private claims and local bridges.

But behind this heavy vote lies the fact that the Senate bill contained a provision on fiscal policy which meets the wildest dreams of the Chamber of Commerce and the *Wall Street Journal*. Under this provision, whenever tax revenues fall, the President would be required to make drastic cuts in expenditures. This would guarantee that the first minor recession in business activity would be followed by a sharp decline. It would remove any doubt as to whether or not the inflationary boom invited by the recent anti-OPA legislation would be followed by complete economic collapse.

The Senate's handling of this aspect of the reorganization bill provided a perfect example of how Congress should not operate. The budget-balancing provision was a "rider" written by big-business lobbyists, never discussed at public hearings and never analyzed in co-

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operation with the Treasury Department or the Budget Bureau. All this despite the fact that the purposes of the reorganization bill include the outlawing of "riders," the control of lobbyists, the improved organization of public hearings and better coöperation with the executive branch.

Moreover, the issue on the budget-balancing provision was never brought to a clear focus on the Senate floor. At one time in the debate, Senator LaFollette yielded to the pressure of the liberal groups which had supported the full-employment bill and offered an amendment to pull the teeth out of his own provision. Senator George, leader of the reactionary Southern Democrats, immediately objected that LaFollette's amendment would "weaken the original purpose" of the bill. Instead of forcing a roll-call vote, LaFollette capitulated to Senator George and withdrew his amendment in favor of a substitute which was entirely satisfactory to the budget-balancing lobby.

In the House, the reactionaries who are opposed to most of the bill's provisions look with favor on what it does to the federal budget. The liberals who want congressional reorganization realize that the budgetary provisions of the bill would nullify the Employment Act of 1946 and further entrench the reactionary forces in control of the federal government. They will undoubtedly take the position that they want a reorganization of Congress, but not if the price is a further disorganization of our economy.

Wage Bill Blocked

A small group of Representatives on the House Rules Committee is blocking the bill to raise the nation's minimum-wage level from 40 to 65 cents an hour. Their objection? They want to retain the farm-parity rider, which would require the government to include the cost of agricultural labor in computing farm-parity prices. The rider, which was tacked on when the Senate passed the bill, was taken off by the House Labor Committee. Administration leaders are still hopeful of bringing the rider up as a separate bill so as to clear the way for passage of the wage bill.

Bulletin from Mexico

American opinion has been shocked to learn that Russia is planning to train, arm and equip a Mexican army of a million men. Of this total, 830,000 will consist of bitterly anti-American *Sinarquistas,* while 170,000 will be Mexicans known to be friendly to the United States. Officials in Washington were quick to comment that they can see no possible purpose for Russia's thus interfering in Mexican internal affairs, and creating a big and powerful army there, except one hostile to the United States.

—Luckily, the foregoing comment does not need to be written. Russia is doing nothing of the kind in Mexico. But these words are appropriate, if for "Mexico" you read "China," for "Washington" read "Moscow" and for "Russia" read "the United States." General Marshall, if Congress gives its consent, proposes to raise, train and equip an army of a million Chinese. Theoretically, 170,000 of them would be from the communist-dominated areas, and we leave it to your imagination whether that part of the plan would ever be carried out. If you want to know how the Russians probably feel about this plan, read again the first paragraph above, and picture your own emotions if it were true.

Bevin's Foreign Policy

AT BOURNEMOUTH, Ernest Bevin demonstrated that he can visualize the framework for great-power rapprochement at Paris. In his conception of the indivisibility of Europe and his identification of Britain's role as that of a catalytic agent between Russian socialism and American capitalism in behalf of a world settlement, the British Foreign Minister was on sound ground. But Bevin failed to demonstrate that he is yet ready to implement the conclusions of his own logic. If followed to its obvious conclusion, that failure may produce dire consequences at the Council of Foreign Ministers which has reconvened for its second Paris session.

In a review of his foreign policy as applied to the friction points of Europe, Bevin contributed neither to the indivisibility of that continent as a workable principle nor to the role he has chosen for Britain. His brutal and startling retrogression on the Palestine issue, his half-veiled threats of bi-lateral peace-making and his attempt to flee from the necessity for action against Franco will do little to dispel the gloom of the half-war, half-peace twilight engulfing the world.

To be sure, there is no evidence to demonstrate that Russia is any better prepared than Mr. Bevin to make the necessary concessions for great-power and world unity. And the inspired dispatches which followed Secretary Byrnes's arrival in Paris made it clear enough that the Secretary of State is ready to match Soviet intransigence with American obduracy.

The reported "thunderous applause" as Bevin won the Labor Party's acquiescence to his foreign policy was hardly loud enough to drown out completely the murmurs of misgiving inside his party at the broadening chasm between Britain and Russia and at the haunting similarities between his own overseas policies and those of his Tory predecessors. Those murmurs were clear enough to the Foreign Minister: he seemed to be attempting to assuage himself rather than his party in his almost querulous complaint that "I cannot help it if sometimes the Tories cheer me."

Bevin declared he was willing to "grease the ball-bearings," so there will be no friction whenever Russia

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and Britain meet. Why, then, did he not proceed to do so? His protestations of Britain's own rectitude and Russia's stiff-necked aloofness would have had a clearer ring had he then proclaimed a final end to Britain's old, imperialistic game of preserving Franco from the wrath of most of the rest of the world. "Clear the whole Danube basin of troops" as a first step toward a settlement in Middle Europe, Bevin demanded. But why the silence about Britain's own devious policy in Palestine and the Trans-Jordan? Why the silence about Russia's dark misgivings and half-spoken charges that in the British zone of Germany occupation units of the Wehrmacht are still in being and carry arms as police?

If the Foreign Minister once again would employ the forthright tactics used for India to cleanse his own hands in the Middle East and elsewhere, it is conceivable that the force of his example, of which he is willing enough to boast, might force Russia and even the United States to go and do likewise.

The Bevin assurance to Europe and to Russia that "we will not divide you" is beside the point. The division is already there, as Bevin attests by his reference to the awful business of drawing a line from Stettin to Albania. The division is geographical; it is of principle; it is of the details of applying disparate principles. The problem now is to break down that division. And Bevin has contributed little toward that end in his political harangue to his party.

Pork Chops and Politics

THE SUCCESSFUL CONCLUSION of the maritime wage-hour negotiations without a world-disastrous strike demonstrates again that there is no substitute for statesmanship. Philip Murray and Secretary Schwellenbach provided most of this commodity, now extremely rare in Washington.

Merchant seamen have a phrase, "pork chops," which means money, and the question arose at the start of the crisis, and continued throughout, as to whether the strike threat was for pork chops or politics. Analysis of the events and the results shows both were deeply involved.

Take pork-chop items first. The 230,000 merchant seamen (175,000 employed currently) of this country have made long strides toward decent pay and working conditions. U. S. seamen have wage, hour and working standards which are below other industries, although much higher than those of foreign countries, as the current International Labor Organization conference in Seattle is emphasizing.

The basic work week has been reduced from 56 hours (63 for cooks and stewards) to 48, with the understanding that the operators will continue to work crews the longer hours, paying overtime for the excess. But the new standard provides an incentive to operators to increase crews and work shorter hours in the interest of efficiency and economy. Pay has been increased by $17.50 a month for able-bodied seamen, with other classes of workers increased correspondingly. The work week in port is reduced from 44 to 40 hours. Overtime pay is increased. The West Coast dock-workers received substantial increases, as recommended by a fact-finding report in May, plus an increase in retroactive pay for the long period of their negotiations, which started last fall.

The political results should teach a lesson to a lot of folks. Everyone in Washington knew that if the sailors "hit the bricks" at 12:01 a.m., June 15, as scheduled, Congress would whip through the Truman emergency bill in drastic form, probably within a few hours. Other anti-labor legislation would have been pushed hard. The settlement created a "cooling-off period" which should do Congress and the Administration a lot of good. The White House, after President Truman's ill advised public proposal to use the Army and Navy as strike-breakers, quieted down and kept Snyder, Steelman, George Allen and other trouble-makers out of the picture.

As soon as the strike date was set, Secretary of Labor Schwellenbach acted promptly by convening a Labor Department conference and assigning a top team of conciliators to the job of keeping the managements and unions together. It was this Labor Department crew which worked out the settlement as finally agreed to. It represents a series of compromises and not a complete victory for either side, as compared with the flat positions taken by each at the outset.

President Murray of the CIO provided the calm statesmanship which induced the warring factions within the maritime unions to accept the formula. It was also Murray who convinced Harry Bridges, president of the West Coast longshoremen's union, that a strike couldn't and shouldn't be pulled now—in the face of the certainty that it would be interpreted as a strike against the government. The War Shipping Administration, after a period of unconcern over Truman's threat, finally realized that the Army and Navy didn't have the personnel to man the ships, and, as the owner of 80 percent of U. S. merchant ships, forthrightly directed the operators to sign.

The settlement contributes two points of importance to labor history. First, that the unions (six CIO and one independent) made up a united front and were able to stick together to attain a common end, despite the fierce individualism of their members and their leaders. The Harry Bridges-Joe Curran Committee for Maritime Unity may, and probably will, be rent before long by rivalries and ambitions, but it has been able to set a common pattern of improvement. The seamen and longshoremen probably won't forget the lesson, even if their leaders do.

Secretary Schwellenbach told both sides at the outset

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that there could be no strike; that they were to stay in continuous session until agreement was reached; and that neither side should discuss the negotiations in public. The reason for this procedure is obvious. The atmosphere of such negotiations is warm; the negotiators often make extreme statements which take on the air of ultimata if they reach the finality of type. The newspapermen regularly covering the labor beat in Washington understand this problem, and coöperated. The Labor Department disclosed developments as they came. On the dull days when little or nothing was announced, nothing had happened—not even censorship.

One more reaction should be mentioned. The operators, who expect to take over the ships for private operation in the next few months, don't like it at all. They will have to pay the new, higher wage bill, and are grimly suggesting that although the Treasury can meet it now, it will make it impossible for privately operated American ships to compete in world shipping. The answer is that we have a firmly established policy of subsidies, which provide compensation for the difference between our wage costs and those on foreign ships.

Most of the problems involved will come up again in September and next June. The contracts of Bridges' longshoremen and the marine engineers expire September 30, and both unions are reported to be dissatisfied with what they got in this settlement. Contracts of Joe Curran's National Maritime Union and the others involved here will expire June 15, 1947, at which time it is likely that another united effort will be made by the group to keep up with the expected price increases of an inflation economy.

High-Court Controversy

THE REMARKABLE and most revealing fact about Mr. Justice Robert H. Jackson's complaints against Mr. Justice Hugo L. Black is that they have not been used to a greater extent to smear Black. In Congress and in the press, the outcry against Black has been surprisingly mild, often tempered with equal criticism of Jackson. At first it looked as though all the big guns of the old guard would be trained upon Black. Another witch-hunt seemed to be at hand. But when they stopped long enough to read the charges, the leading viewers-with-alarm lost heart. While Jackson opened the way for renewed attacks upon Black, the public in general has not been easily aroused. If Jackson had made a better case, the newspapers and the conservative congressmen would have played it for all it was worth.

The strategy of the conservatives, now that the issues have become clearer, is to demand that both Black and Jackson resign from the Supreme Court. When it is asked why Black should resign, the usual answer is that he is too radical and should never have been appointed in the first place. Or it is said that he "obviously" spread stories against Jackson in Jackson's absence that were unfair and betrayed the dignity of the Court. Newspaper correspondents in Washington are convinced that Black has exercised the most exact control over his tongue. Both before and after the Jackson statement, newspapermen sought information from Black to no avail. His most intimate personal friends declare that never since he entered the Court in 1937 has he discussed Court business or personalities with them.

As for Jackson, his pique is understandable but none the less deplorable. No man ever came closer to the chief justiceship than he did. Some gossip spread that Black had intervened and blocked the nomination. But the President said that he did not discuss the nomination with any member of the present Court. He did discuss it once with former Chief Justice Hughes and twice with former Justice Roberts. Neither of those men could be called partisans of Black.

The complaint that Black sat on a case argued by his former law partner cannot be dismissed lightly. But the facts, we believe, do not make Black's integrity suspect. In the first place, the law partnership with Crampton Harris was dissolved before Black ran for the Senate in 1926, and on Black's initiative. Mr. Justice Jackson says that he could persuade only Mr. Justice Frankfurter to join him in criticizing Black for sitting in the case. The late Chief Justice Stone, according to Jackson's account, refused to censure Black. Mr. Justice Roberts was absent and Justices Douglas, Murphy, Reed and Rutledge specifically upheld Black's hand. We cannot believe that all the morality on the Court rests in the bosoms of Jackson and Frankfurter. Finally, Jackson himself said in his statement from Nuremberg: "I did not say that it was wrong of Mr. Justice Black to sit, but I did say that the question was for him to decide. . . ."

Mr. Justice Black has become one of the powerful figures on the Supreme Court, probably the most powerful. Despite abuse that would have killed a lesser man, he has become recognized as an able, learned and impassioned jurist. Black is a radical. He has strong convictions, just as Marshall, Holmes and Brandeis had strong convictions. He fights hard for what he believes is right. He is tough-minded and courageous. And he wields great power. Because of all these things, and in view of his recent decisions upholding Negro rights and the civil liberties of Watson, Dodd and Lovett, the reactionaries, especially the Southern reactionaries in Congress, regard him as a dangerous man.

We do not say he is perfect or that he is always right. But we do say that Black is one of the valuable men of his generation, whose stature has risen again because of his refusal to reply to a violent and unwarranted attack upon him.

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Washington Wire

Good News and Bad

THIS PESSIMISTIC COLUMN ordinarily takes a dim view of things. Occasionally the worst doesn't happen and we are surprised. Such surprises are fairly infrequent, however, in Washington. One of them came last week, when the Senate passed the LaFollette-Monroney bill to streamline Congress. We can't recall talking to a single reporter who thought the measure had a chance. Then what happened? The Senate up and passed it, 49 to 16. It is true it was baited with senatorial pay increases and all sorts of labor-saving devices. Furthermore, it omitted a lot of needed reforms. But it strikes us as one of the most hopeful first steps in a generation. Indeed, it is one of the few constructive measures to come from this Congress. It is full of odds and ends of reform, like the clause barring irrelevant "riders" from appropriation bills. Silver Senators last week stuck just such a "rider" on a bill, to boost the price of silver 20 cents an ounce. Senate approval of the modernization bill was a personal triumph for Bob LaFollette. Returning to our misanthropic mood, we just can't believe it will pass the House, but Representative Mike Monroney (D, Okla.) is an effective exponent, and if members want to get $5,000 extra salary, pensions and "executive assistants" they will have to stomach a reform or two. Heaven knows, this will be a tough choice for some.

Continuing to strike our note of pessimism, we turn to presidential prospects. Current Washington feeling is that Harry Truman will be lucky to get reëlected in 1948. We are surprised at the widespread character of this belief among observers; many of these observers, incidentally, don't like Republicans. A lot can happen between now and 1948 (to coin a phrase), but as of this writing most political gossip turns to the question of just which lucky man the GOP will finally put up. Our personal sympathies are with Mr. Truman. Compared to the Republican nominee he is likely to look like a red-hot radical. But our enthusiasm for Mr. Truman comes and goes. After all, it required something close to political genius to succeed in uniting against him on his "draft-labor" proposal, at the same time, such men as Wagner and Taft, Wayne Morse and Senator Millikin, Pepper, Stassen and Homer Capehart. On the other hand, his admirable analysis of the Case bill, contained in his veto, riddled that measure.

The mood of the nation, as Washington gets it, is a modified "back-to-normalcy" drive. There's a revolt against wartime disciplines and restrictions, against trade unions and maybe foreigners, too. Defeat of internationalist Griswold by isolationist Butler, in Nebraska in the Republican primaries, was a portent, any way you look at it. Today's situation is different from 1919, partly because 1919 occurred. After all, we do learn something from experience. So far, this time, foreign policy has not been made a partisan issue. Furthermore, people are scared of The Bomb. A lot of housewives are also opposed to inflation, though it's probably too late now to help them much. Thus you have big national forces in conflict and as yet partly in balance, accompanied by stalemate between Congress and the White House, and the prospect that this stalemate will be intensified after the fall election when Republican gains are anticipated.

Who will be the Republicans' lucky man? By a political principle which we have termed "T. R. B.'s Law," the rosier the GOP chances, the more conservative its candidate. Stassen last week took a bad sock in Nebraska; even though his prestige should rise again after the Minnesota primary, it's hard not to see a fate like Wendell Willkie's. Governor Warren of California is now on the upgrade; but will GOP bosses really accept a liberal independent like Warren if they think they can win? There's Dewey, but he's had his chance; why take somebody who's been defeated once? Republicans have never done it before.

That begins to narrow things down. Bricker might be the man, but, honestly, pessimistic as we are, things can't be as bad as *that*. You have, then, Taft and Vandenberg. Taft has been assiduously gathering delegates. Like his amiable father before him, his lieutenants have been quietly searching out the Southern GOP delegates. These are good delegates; as somebody has said, the best money can buy. Speculation here is that, right at this juncture, Taft's lieutenants may control 150 to 200 delegates. Have no doubt of it, Taft has brains and character, and is a hard worker. Republican members of the House are still kicking themselves that they didn't have Taft's good sense in fighting the Truman "draft-labor" proposal. Taft is now throwing kisses at Bob LaFollette, too, in one of the most remarkable love affairs of this generation. Bob, of course, is up for reëlection, having reëmbraced Republicanism after all these years.

The trouble with Taft is he's about as magnetic as a lead nail. Vandenberg has somewhat the edge on him there, besides building up his national prestige by current peace-negotiating experience. Vandenberg makes a better set speech than Taft and occasionally achieves real eloquence. If these two formidable rivals don't kill each other off, it would be our guess that the 1948 GOP presidential nomination will fall close to one of them.

Notes. – It's hard to see how Robert Jackson can stay on the Court after his unprecedented blast. . . . Almost unnoticed, the GOP has returned James S. Kemper, darling of the Chicago *Tribune* and, as head of the Lumberman's Mutual Casualty Company, radio sponsor of Upton Close, as its 1948 finance chairman. He will get Sewell Avery's contribution, whatever happens. . . . Enlightened businessmen of the Committee for Economic Development shiver over what Congress is doing to the OPA. . . . Cost of living rose 1.5 percent in the first two weeks of June on the basis of food prices alone, it is estimated; that's a 36-percent annual rate. . . . Gerald L. K. Smith's America Firsters recently included Vandenberg among ten Senators indorsed for reëlection; while unsolicited, the indorsement means he'll get the Father Coughlinite vote. . . . Almost certainly there'll be a new strike wave if prices continue on up.

Washington T. R. B.

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Political Roundup

The GOP v. Liberalism

THE NEBRASKA PRIMARIES and the Indiana Republican convention occurred at just about the worst possible moment for those who have been contending that the Republican Party still has possibilities of becoming "the liberal party." To the thousands of labor and liberal voters who were presumably badly disaffected by President Truman's anti-labor blitz, the results in these two states offered no lure at all to join the Republicans.

The Indiana GOP, in convention assembled, gave Charles La Follette, one of the outstanding progressives in the House of Representatives, 105 votes for Senator, and William Jenner, a reactionary party-machine man, 1,994 votes and their nomination. Old Senator Willis, whom the machine did not consider a sufficiently vigorous advocate of reaction, was frozen out of the running even before the convention opened. The day after the convention LaFollette declared that the Republican Party would no longer be his vehicle to fight for liberal legislation. He plans to leave the party at the end of his present term in Congress.

Harold Stassen was apparently as ill advised in staking a part of his political future on the outcome of the Nebraska primaries this year as Wendell Willkie was in taking a much greater chance on Wisconsin in 1944. Isolationist Senator Hugh Butler overwhelmingly defeated Stassen's avowed internationalist candidate, Governor Dwight Griswold, in what old-time Midwestern politicians never even considered a close race. Stassen, however, thought enough of Griswold's chances to go all out in his support, stump the state for him and try to make his campaign an issue in national Republican politics as a showdown on internationalism v. isolationism in the party.

Griswold lost in every section of the state, including Lincoln, where the independent Republican paper supported him on the foreign-policy issue. Butler campaigned on the issue that "one good term deserves another" and his "anti-bureaucratic," "pro-American" record in the Senate. Griswold, while making no pretense of being a progressive on domestic issues, blasted Butler's record on foreign affairs, especially his stand against the British loan, and campaigned on the need for another "constructive," internationalist Republican in the Senate.

There are several easy rationalizations for those who don't like to believe that the results of this election really represent a trend back or a continued preference for a "no-foreign-entanglements" point of view in the Midwest. Nebraskans, like most Americans, have always resented outside intervention and may have held Stassen's activity against Griswold when they came to vote. In the past, Nebraskans resented the efforts of President Roosevelt and progressives everywhere to reëlect Senator Norris. Columnist Walter Lippmann argues that this is no real test, because the interventionist doctrine at present is so poorly argued in both parties that it can mean little or nothing to the average voter.

But the Swedish, German, Bohemian, Lutheran, Protestant, farmer population that dominates Nebraska Republicanism obviously still stands solidly behind Butler and Wherry, Butler's former campaign manager, Val Peterson, who won the party nomination for Governor, and all their kind. Stassen's un-Willkielike response to the bad news from Nebraska was to send congratulations to the man he opposed, condolences to his candidate.

The news from Minnesota is that Stassen's senatorial candidate there, Governor Ed Thye, has a good chance of winning the Republican nomination from isolationist Senator Henrik Shipstead. But even if he does succeed in Minnesota, Stassen's stock is unquestionably lowered as a result of his own bad judgment in becoming involved in a losing proposition in Nebraska.

Idaho. – State Senator George Donert's victory over Senator Gossett in the Democratic primaries upsets all the calculations of the political seers who have been reading a "conservative trend" into the early election returns this year. No man, except possibly Claude Pepper, has gone farther in the Senate this year in fighting for an all-out radical program than has Glen Taylor (D) of Idaho. George Donert was his candidate against conservative old Governor Gosset, who appointed himself to fill out the unexpired term of the late Senator John Thomas. Taylor and Donert stumped the state from one end to the other, telling the same story in labor and agricultural communities alike, contrary to local political tradition, speaking out for labor to the farmers, for the farmers to labor and for United Nations understanding and support, with no mercy for Red-baiters, to all groups. Idaho people are always suspicious of an extensive campaign, and Gossett suffered from this fact, even though he was much better known throughout the state as a former Governor, Senator, *et. al.*, than was Donert. And the voters did not like the idea that he was a "self-appointed Senator," as Taylor kept drumming into their heads.

Representative Henry Dworshak, the unopposed Republican candidate for the Senate, is a formidable opponent for Donert in November. He will have the newspapers and the potent American Legion of the state on his side. The Democrats will have to work for a much heavier vote than the light one which came out in this primary if they are to win.

Texas. – For the first time in many years, Texas has a strong progressive candidate for Governor, Homer P. Rainey, who was fired as president of the University of Texas when he publicly denounced the Board of Regents for suppressing academic freedom on the campus.

The filing date for the gubernatorial race closed with eleven men running. The strongest candidates opposing Rainey are: Beauford Jester, a member of the Railroad Commission; Jerry Sadler, former Railroad Commissioner; and Grover Sellars, state attorney general. Backed by the Texas regulars, representing the state's business interests, all three have aimed fire at Rainey and the CIO-PAC, whom they lump as one foe. The other candidates, with the exception of labor-hating Lieutenant Governor John Lee Smith, are virtual unknowns to Texas voters. The first primary, on July 27, will show whether Texans are ready to elect their "Ellis Arnall."

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Facts on Boom and Bust

WHY, in the midst of bustling activity, do so many Americans look to the future, a few years hence, with misgivings? What has caused depressions in the past, and what hope have we of avoiding them in the future?

These questions, among others, are discussed in Chester Bowles's striking new book, *Tomorrow Without Fear* (Simon and Schuster. Cloth, $2.50; paper, $1). We present below a digest of some of his chief points.

How Rich before the War?

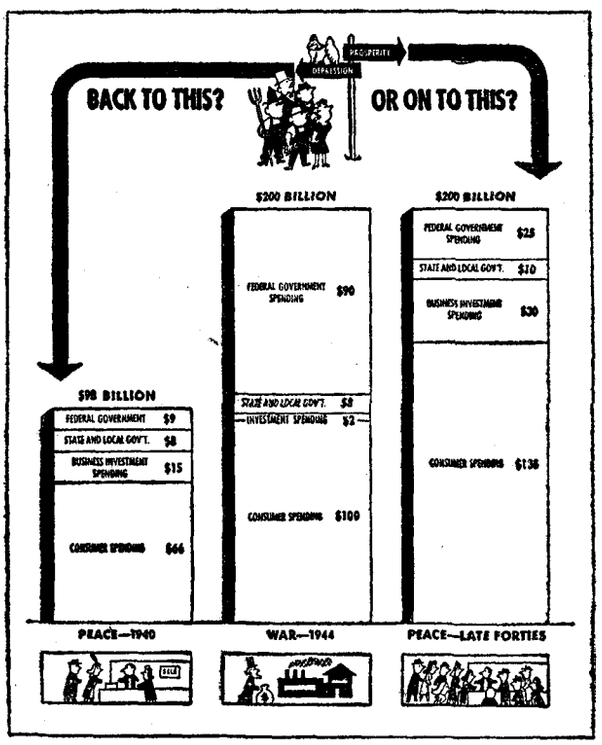
Before the war the United States was much the richest country in the world. We had doubled our national product every twenty years since the Civil War.

Yet in four out of every five years we had had substantial unemployment. Even in 1940 one out of every three people didn't have enough to eat. The Army had to reject 40 percent of the selectees, many of them on account of poor nutrition. Nearly half of the counties had no general hospital. Millions of people lived in overcrowded houses without plumbing, electricity or decent heating. One of every four children of school age was not attending school. Tenants operated two-fifths of our farms, and sharecroppers one-tenth of them. Eight million industrial workers were without jobs.

Why, in spite of our enormous resources and mechanical equipment, did we do no better than this?

What Caused Coolidge Prosperity?

After the First World War we had two or three years of boom and bust; then there came almost a decade of increasing income and improving standards of living. Four major factors were largely responsible. First was the great demand for new houses, which at its peak caused the building of nearly a million dwelling units a year, with corresponding prosperity in the manufacture of materials and furnishings. Second was the growth of automobiles, which provided a big market for oil, rubber, sheet metal, plate glass, and led to the proliferation of service stations, roadside stands and playgrounds. Third was the construction of a third of a million miles of surface highways. Fourth was the increase of annual production of electricity from 40 billion kilowatt hours annually to 60 billion.



The Two-Hundred-Billion-Dollar Question

Yet in 1929 prosperity crashed. This happened in spite of the fact that the national administration was friendly to business, taxes had been steadily reduced, the budget was balanced and the national debt was being paid off. Profits were large and rapidly increasing.

And What Caused the Crash?

There must have been trouble somewhere. One suspicious fact is that although between 1923 and 1929 output in the factories increased nearly one-quarter for each hour's work put in, hourly wages were raised only 3.5 percent. In mining, output per man-hour rose 27 percent while hourly earnings declined 10 percent. In electric light and power the gain in output per man-hour was 39 percent while hourly earnings rose six percent.

Profits got the lion's share of the gain in efficiency. Corporate profits in manufacturing rose 57 percent, in railroads 59 percent, in utilities 156 percent.

Munificent profits stimulated stock-market speculation, and the speculation pushed the stock market ever higher. Profits from the market were used to prolong the boom by speculative construction of hotels, office buildings and even factories. The system began to feed on itself instead of on sufficiently increased purchasing power in the hands of the mass of consumers.

What Did Depression Cost?

The inevitable crash came in 1929, and the downward spiral of depression set in. In Iowa the price of corn fell from 90 cents a bushel in 1929 to 12 cents at the end of 1932. Fifteen million workers had no jobs at all and other millions worked only one or two days a week.

With the 88 million man-years of work lost during all the depression years we might have built 10 million homes, 5,000 hospitals, 7,500 schools, 20 million automobiles, 40 million washing machines and vacuum cleaners, besides making 400 million men's suits, 1,200 million women's dresses and 200 million coats. In addition, we could have paid $1.5 billion more for doctors and dentists, and every family could have had a vacation every year.

The New Deal increased farm income from $2 billion to $5 billion, helped to put 10 million people to work in industry and saw the recovery of corporate profits from a net loss of $5 billion to a net gain of $7.25 billion. But that was not enough. "To pull a truck out of a ditch is one thing; to put it together after a 40-foot drop is quite another." Better teamwork between government and business might also have produced better recovery.

How High Was War Production?

In war we did have teamwork, and we had something else of great importance—insistent demand for goods backed up by plenty of money. The source of the demand

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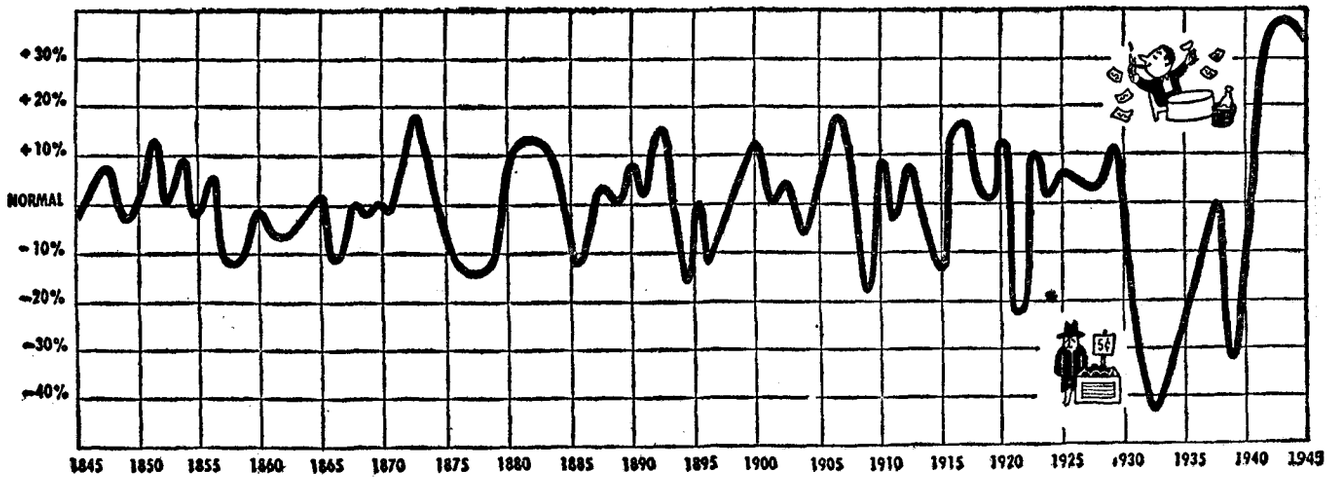


A Century of Boom and Bust
American Business Activity 1845-1945

happened to be the government, but it need not be so in time of peace, or at least not to so great a degree.

The effect was startling. Within three years the physical output of industry was more than twice as much as it had been in 1940. The output of goods and services as a whole was increased 75 percent during the war. In spite of the fact that half of our national product was devoted to war purposes, more things were produced for civilian life in 1944 than in 1940. This does not hold, of course, for certain products like automobiles, refrigerators, gasoline and oil; but the standard of living of the average American family was higher than ever in history.

In 1945 our national output was $200 billion, with 52 million people at work. Surely we can produce as much with 10 million veterans back in civilian life, even though some retire from industry and hours of work are reduced.

Can We Keep It Up in Peace?

Why should we produce that much when we no longer have to make so many planes, ships and tanks? The first answer is that with a $100-billion product in 1940 there were eight million unemployed. Meanwhile the population has been increasing and the number of workers has grown 600,000 a year; so has the capacity to produce per man-hour. The consequence is that a return to 1940 production would mean 20 million men and women out of work. But to get the $200-billion production we must spend $200 billion.

There are three large classes of spending in the nation. One is the spending by individual consumers. Another is the spending for new factories and machinery by business, and for the construction of new dwellings. The third is the spending by government—national, state and local.

How much consumers spend depends very largely on how much they are paid. Consumers' incomes depend upon business spending. There is more variation in new investment from year to year than in consumers' purchases. Yet business spending is not entirely under control by businessmen. It depends on the incentive of profit. The only factor which can be controlled is the spending by government.

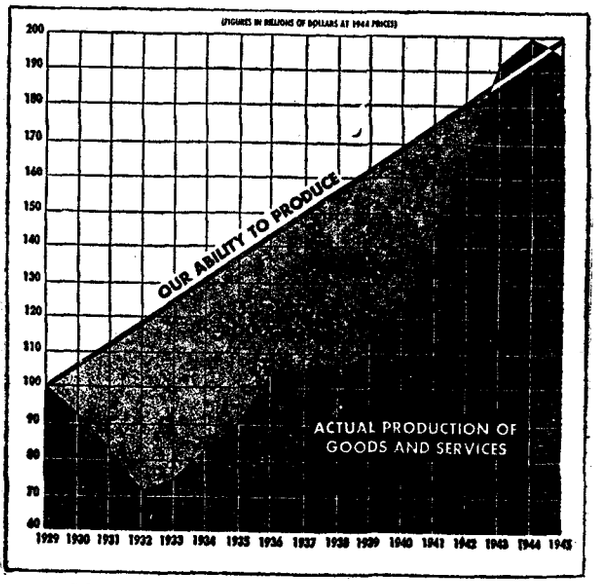
Government spending should therefore be enlarged or decreased to whatever extent is necessary to make up the required total. A firm commitment by government to do this should create enough confidence so that businessmen themselves would make large expenditures and there would be less likelihood of having to increase governmental spending.

How Much Could We Spend?

Business in postwar years is likely to spend $30 billion a year for investment, on the average. Consumers might easily spend $135 billion, in those circumstances. State and local governments are likely to spend $10 billion. That would leave $25 billion for the federal government to spend in order to make the required total. In order to do this without a deficit, government could collect $14 billion less in taxes than it did in 1944.

With a product of this size, not only would almost everybody have a job, but we could build our schools and hospitals, improve our education and our medical services, and in addition individual consumers could spend more than twice as much as before the war.

But we should have to watch out that we did not get into another 1929 jam. If we avoided that, the national income might become $400 billion before 1970.



The Cost of the Depression of the 1930's

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"We Take You Now to Bikini"

by Alan Harrington and Alexander Eliot

GOOD AFTERNOON, radio listeners. In just a few moments the All America Network will broadcast to you the greatest experiment of all time—the atomic bombing of a mighty war fleet anchored off Bikini atoll in the Marshall Islands. Our eye-witness reporter, Ben McQuaid, on the bridge of the battleship *Missouri,* is cruising a scant 13 miles from the doomed ships, ready to give you his impressions of the clash between the irresistible force of the bomb that beat the Japs and the immovable defense represented by some of Uncle Sam's sturdiest fighting units.

And right here beside me, Professor Frederick Klaus, one of the original collaborators on the atomic bomb, will translate for us in scientific terms the story as it is unfolded by Ben McQuaid. From coast to coast the All America Network has its staff of experts on deck ready for whatever happens. There are Major Robert Lansing Ellis in New York, Wilton Dewey Jr. in Chicago, and many others . . .

—And now our engineers tell us that we can go ahead to the Pacific. This is Randy Carlisle in New York taking you to Ben McQuaid aboard the battleship *Missouri* in the Marshall Islands. Go ahead, Ben . . .

Marshall Islands: Hello to you All America listeners back in the USA. This is the most awe-inspiring sight I have ever witnessed. As far as the eye can see, out to the horizon and beyond it, I imagine, nothing but ships, ships filled with anxious and excited watchers, all eyes concentrated on a lagoon—hardly a sleepy lagoon today—where the sacrifice fleet, crewless and helpless except for its magnificent armor, awaits the moment of obliteration. To my right—that's southwest—lies the coral atoll of Bikini. I believe I can barely make out through my binoculars the bright wings of the B-29 bomber which will carry out this unprecedented mission. . . . What's that, excuse me a moment. . . . Ladies and gentlemen, it has just been announced that the bomb will be dropped in just a few moments. The plane has taken off! . . . It's circling Bikini atoll. A great hush has descended on this corner of the Pacific! And . . . yes, there's the bomb; the parachute is fluttering. Looks like it's going to be a perfect hit. By George, that bomb looks bigger than I expected. It's regulation size. It's dropping, dropping. . . . Hey, I thought it was supposed to explode at one thousand feet! . . . It's dropping! Now it's in the water. . . . Nothing happens. Maybe it's a dud, who knows, maybe it's a dud. . . .

—We're terribly sorry, ladies and gentlemen, but our communications with the Marshall Islands seem to have been interrupted. Our engineers are trying to reestablish contact, and in a minute we hope to have you back at your ringside seat. So stay tuned to the All America Network. Meanwhile, friends, we're going to take this opportunity to ask Professor Frederick Klaus what he thinks happened out there. Perhaps he can tell us whether the tremendous force of the bomb could conceivably have disrupted radio communications. What about that, Professor Klaus?

Professor Klaus: Yes, Mr. Carlisle, such a thing might happen, in fact we should all realize that *anything* might happen in an extraordinary experiment of this sort. For example, my colleagues, I am sure, could not foresee exactly how powerful the chain reaction would prove to be if the bomb were detonated *under water,* which seems to have been the case. That is very important, you know. Water is a resistant to explosive force, thus the reaction may be immeasurably strong. . . .

—Excuse me for interrupting, Professor, but what about our radio contact?

Professor Klaus: During the first test in New Mexico, gamma rays released by the bomb upset our television equipment and these same rays might have had the same effect on your radio-sending equipment in the Marshalls. Of course, I should not like to be quoted on this. Very possibly nothing unforeseeable has occurred. But I cannot emphasize too strongly that while all reasonable precautions have been taken, this is an *experiment.*

—Thanks a lot, Professor Klaus. We'll come back to you soon, but now we're on our way to Honolulu, Hawaii, where Ted Ferris may have some news for us. Go ahead, Ted Ferris in Honolulu!

Honolulu: OK, New York. No, our technicians haven't yet been able to contact the Marshall Islands. But we can tell you that some very strange scientific phenomena have been noted right here on Oahu. It is *very, very* hot at the present time. I am looking at the thermometer outside our window and it reads 113 degrees. Ten minutes ago it read 85 degrees. This,

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Alan Harrington is covering the actual Bikini test for Transradio Press Service and the New Republic. *During his Army service with the Eighth Weather Squadron, he was one of the winners in the* New Republic's *Soldiers' Prose Contest in 1942.*

Alexander Eliot is a writer for Time *magazine. During the war he wrote documentary film scripts for the OWI and the Coördinator of Inter-American Affairs.*

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our local weather bureau office says, has never been known to happen before. As most of you know, it rarely gets very warm here in the Hawaiian Islands. Well, today the thermometer has jumped 28 degrees in no time—pardon *me*, it has just gone up another degree, I notice. That will make you realize that the heat is on here in Honolulu and no kidding!

One more item. It's a clear, brilliant day in Honolulu. The sun is shining almost directly overhead. But to the *southwest* there's a definite sort of red-orange glow on the horizon, and believe me that's not a fire in somebody's kitchen stove! What it is, Colonel David Abbott, our atomic expert, will explain, no doubt, when he comes down from his observation platform on the roof. Meanwhile, back to New York.

New York: Thank you, Ted Ferris.

Well, I seem to be in the same boat as Ted because our atomic expert, Dr. Frederick Klaus, has also gone out to take some observations of his own. So while he's doing a little detective work we'll have a few words from Major Robert Lansing Ellis, our military expert—Major Ellis.

Major Ellis: Friends of the radio audience, a word of warning. Tomorrow, when newspaper headlines are crying up the devastating force of the atomic bomb, professional enthusiasts will undoubtedly seize the opportunity to proclaim the obsolescence of the Army Ground Forces . . . the tank . . . long-range artillery . . . the machine gun . . . and even the gallant foot soldier himself. Such talk is completely irresponsible. No one denies, and I for one assert, that the atomic bomb is one of the most powerful, if not *the* most powerful weapon of war ever conceived by man. But this last war has shown, and all future wars will show, that bombs—yes, even atomic bombs—may knock out territory, but you've got to send the infantry in there to hold it. Thank you very much.

—That's fine, Major Ellis, but Ted Ferris in Honolulu has been buzzing us, and he says things out there are getting stranger and —well—stranger. So come in, Ted Ferris in Honolulu!

Honolulu: Oh, my God, Randy, you wouldn't believe it, I wouldn't dare believe it, but the sky, the ocean, the whole world is going wild before my eyes. The sky is in flames . . . like the aurora borealis, only ten thousand times worse, a million times more beautiful. Oh, it's terrible, Randy, I wish I could write poetry, I'd tell you. . . . I'm standing here stripped to the waist, and Colonel Abbott is the same beside me, and we're sw—perspiring buckets . . . all of Honolulu is a furnace . . . our thermometer's busted long ago . . . the temperature must be 200 degrees . . . but the sky, Randy! There's no air any more . . . it's big, ballooning streaks of blue and green and yellow flames swimming over the sun. There's flames overhead and straight ahead . . . we're on the twentieth floor, and we can just barely see the ocean through red and green streamers, and the ocean's going . . . going, Waikiki is a big mud flat, the mud's bubbling. It's terrible, Randy, but it's gorgeous. . . . Here's Colonel Abbott, our—I should say All America's—U. S. Army expert. . . .

Colonel Abbott: Thank you, sir. Radio listeners, this will have to be brief. It appears that we are faced with nothing less than a forest fire in the atmosphere.

—Tell them, Colonel, tell them this is serious . . . parts of the city are catching fire . . . blue and green fires . . . the air is humming . . .

Colonel Abbott: The sudden release of radiant energy and unbelievably intense heat, at least 200 million degrees concentrated in a small area, has caused the nitrogen and, naturally, the oxygen, hydrogen, argon and the other minor gases to ignite and explode. These explosions set off a chain of explosions in adjacent areas which transform the atmosphere into a flaming cloud expanding according to a geometrical progression expressed by Franklin's formula . . .

—I'm sorry, Colonel, I must tell them! If I could only be a painter! I could paint colors they never saw. . . . Never mind . . . it's the greatest thing, that's all I can say . . . it's the greatest—of all time . . . it's . . .

—This is Randy Carlisle back in New York, All America listeners, and I don't mind telling you that Ted Ferris' thrilling account of I don't know *what* out there in Honolulu has got me on the edge of my

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seat. You are probably as glad as I am that Professor Frederick Klaus, our atomic expert, is standing here beside me, and will, I know, have some words of wisdom and we hope of encouragement for the people of Honolulu. Come in, Professor.

Professor Klaus: It does seem as though the new atomic bomb was more powerful than many of us thought. Colonel Abbott's citing of the Franklin formula of geometrical progression is a bit disquieting, even though he might just as well have cited the Williamson formula, which makes a provision for the spontaneous *blowing out* of any such conflagration at the moment when it becomes so hot as to destroy its own existence, if you follow me. Therefore, it would be most premature to assume that the field of fire will continue to expand, say, to the Pacific Coast. But still . . .

—That's what we wanted to hear, Professor Klaus. Now, friends, we take you to Rogerson Smith in San Francisco.

San Francisco: Hello, New York and the USA. The average citizen of San Francisco is taking this whole business pretty much in his stride and except for the fact that it is an unusually hot day—a record-breaker, in fact 104 degrees—everything is normal. Naturally, there's a certain amount of excitement; crowds have gathered along Market Street waiting for the latest news bulletins to come out, but nobody is really worried. As one grizzled old cab driver told me a little while ago, "We had one fire, didn't we, and I guess we came out of that one all right, didn't we?" And that pretty well sums up the situation in San Francisco at the moment.

—There you are, ladies and gentlemen, that's how things stand in San Francisco. I see that Professor Klaus is back after taking a look at the stars from our studio roof. But before we hear what he has to say, let's have one more word from Rogerson Smith. Take it, San Francisco. . . . I said, take it, San Francisco! . . . Take it, Rogerson Smith in San Francisco . . .

—Please, Professor Klaus, please won't you say something?

Professor Klaus: Yes, I'm afraid I must. I regret that I can find little reason for optimism. You see, the moon is full and bright red.

—But I'm afraid I don't understand. I've seen it full and, yes, reddish before, like the harvest moon in Kansas. You know, "Shine on, shine on, harvest moon," and so forth?

Professor Klaus: Yes, but only the first quarter of the moon should show tonight. If you doubt me, you may inspect any calendar and it will substantiate what I have said, I'm sure.

—No, no, Professor, I don't doubt your word, but why is the moon red and full? Our listeners will want to know.

Professor Klaus: Because it is reflecting fire from the earth, not the sun. Very simple, if I may say so.

—Of course, how foolish of us, I mean . . . I mean I should have . . . but how . . . how about San Francisco? It was so . . . quiet.

Professor Klaus: I think I can safely say that we now have incontrovertible proof of Franklin's theory, and Williamson must admit it. The field of fire undoubtedly does spread according to his formula of geometrical progression.

—But when will it stop? Professor! He has just stepped out, All America listeners. I hope you will forgive us. Things are happening *so* fast . . . one hardly knows what to say . . . but *here's* a man who can say it much better than I can! It's Raphael Keeler, speaking from New York.

Raphael Keeler: There's catastrophic news tonight, my friends. From one end of the earth to the other, cries of lamentation and prayer are being called to the flaming heavens. San Francisco is gone; it is rumored that Salt Lake City is gone, and Denver and Albuquerque. But it is not only ourselves, no not only we who suffer, but the simple natives of all the Pacific Isles, our enemies of a few months ago the Japanese, our loyal allies the Australians, the Chinese, and those wise men in the mountain crags of Tibet. Like the scourge of God himself a great flame is sweeping the earth, enveloping the races of man; the white brown, the black and the red—impartially, gathering them to the hereafter. Whether it is possible that Providence will, through some miraculous intervention, see fit to spare the Eastern half of the United States, I do not know. But this I do know—if it is our fate that we should be gathered to our last rest in the next hour or two, let us pass on *feeling* our best, and that means *looking* our best, and I say to you, keep up a good front and perish, if need be, immaculate and . . .

—I must interrupt Mr. Keeler to give you an important flash from the nation's Capital. Our President has just declared martial law. Please stay in your homes; everything that can be done is being done. And now to Chicago, I think, for a few words from Wilton Dewey Jr. Please come in, Chicago!

Wilton Dewey Jr.: Yes, I'll come in. Well, it's here, you listeners in the East. I won't go into the physical details. You'll find out . . . you'll learn now that your votes for the New Deal have finally come home to roost. You all know that the Manhattan Project was *his* affair. *He* started it, and typically enough he wasn't around to suffer the consequences. . . . I tell you, this is the last straw. Martial law! I . . . it's too . . . too . . . much. . . .

—It's terrible . . . the whole business I mean . . . We had hoped to take you down to Times Square for some sidewalk interviews, but Frank Matson, who has been down there with his portable microphone, has informed

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us that he can't get coöperation. The Square, he says, is like a madhouse—like a big New Year's Eve. Professor Klaus, isn't there any way to escape this thing? Not even by going way underground . . . ?

Professor Klaus: Perhaps you have noticed how light it is getting outside. No, escape is a dubious proposition at this point. For one thing the fire will fuse the earth to a depth of at least two hundred feet. Furthermore . . .

—How deep is the cellar? We might make it. Let's go. . . . Who are you, sir?

Voice: I am Bishop Belmont.

Professor Klaus: I'm going to the roof again. These phenomena must not go unobserved.

—Oh, Bishop, I'm so glad . . . All America's listeners will be so glad you've come.

Bishop Belmont: I thought I might be of aid. Shall I?

—Yes, yes, I think we have time. Ladies and gentlemen, the Bishop of New York will now lead us in prayer.

Bishop: Oh, God . . .

British Exports Are Booming

by George Soule

ANYONE who supposes that Britain has been patiently standing, hat in hand, while she waits to see whether Congress favors the loan must be ignorant of the rapid pace of British reconversion. What has happened within the past six months indicates clearly that Britain will survive whether the United States offers her large credits or not. What is at stake is not the future life of the British economy but the American desire that it may be a part of a worldwide system of free interchange.

The target which the British have set for themselves is to export 75 percent more goods than in the prewar year, 1938. Achievement of this target will make up for the war loss of returns from foreign investment and other invisible payments, besides providing for a somewhat higher standard of living than before the war. The level from which the British started the postwar effort was a volume of exports in early 1945 which was only one-third of the 1938 average. By April of this year British exports had already risen almost to the 1938 monthly average, the official figure being 95 percent of that amount (by quantity). Thus exports have nearly tripled in the eight months following the end of the war. Though progress cannot be expected to continue at the same percentage rate, it is interesting to note that the target would be hit long before exports had trebled again. By that time, Britain would have no more need of American credit, if she had not already made use of it.

Even before April a number of the more important exports had already exceeded the prewar volume. For the entire first quarter of 1946 this excess was 41 percent for electrical goods and 10 percent for the iron and steel industry. Specific products which were in the lead included motorcycles, bicycles, rayon piece goods, cigarettes, rolling-mill products, paints and colors, machine tools and wool. Chemical exports are now considerably ahead of 1938, while in March, ships under construction in British shipyards were nearly double the corresponding tonnage at the end of 1938 and constituted more than half the current world shipbuilding.

Shortages of goods in every part of the globe have added to the demand which makes this record growth possible, but it scarcely could have occurred if British industry were as backward as many Americans have been led to believe. In addition to this current performance, moreover, elaborate plans have been made thoroughly to renovate the iron and steel, coal, cotton and other industries in the interest of greater output per man-hour and lower cost.

IN VIEW of this rapid progress in export trade, Americans may wonder why the British wish to borrow at all. The answer is found in the hardships which must be endured by the domestic population until a balance of international payments is achieved. In April, while the British were exporting almost as much as before the war, they were importing for domestic consumption only 69 percent of the 1938 monthly average. Almost all necessities are still severely rationed, and although domestic production of consumers' goods is increasing, it has not yet reached prewar standards. Meanwhile the population has grown. In monetary terms, the British still had in April an excess of imports over exports amounting to about £25 million, and this provides a continuing drain on the dwindling dollar resources.

Delay in passage of the loan legislation by Congress has meant a lower standard of living for the British people than that which they endured while the war was still being fought. Defeat of the loan would mean a continuance of this or even a lower standard for some time to come. It would also mean somewhat slower progress in the reëquipment and modernization of British industry, and a much smaller quantity of orders for American machinery and other industrial products.

The political consequence would be that the British public would blame the United States for its continued

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hardship. It would be in no mood to coöperate in doing away with imperial preference, the sterling area, governmental trading, exchange control or other so-called discriminatory practices which American policy seeks to end. Repudiation of the loan agreement by Congress would therefore be a blow, not so much at the future of the British economy as at the American ambition to restore worldwide multilateral trade.

The Labor Party Takes Stock

by Michael Young

London (by wireless)

THE ANNUAL CONFERENCE of the Labor Party at Bournemouth was the last public appearance of Professor Laski as party chairman; Philip Noel-Baker will preside this coming year. But Laski made his farewell address a memorable occasion. Opening the conference, he aligned himself once again with the party's left wing.

He spoke vigorously about Palestine. "I do ask," said Laski, "that neither Arab blackmail nor the strategy on which our policy in the Middle East is based make these homeless wanderers the victims of the hesitation or timidity of Downing Street." But the crucial passages in his speech referred to Russia. He appealed for a new approach to the Soviet: "A Socialist government in Britain requires as the central principle of its policy in UNO the fullest understanding with Russia." He went on to say, "to the rulers of the new Russia, that the achievements of their revolution are one of the pillars of our own strength."

Whether Laski's words would inspire critics within the party to resist an appeal for support by Bevin was the great question debated in the hotels of Bournemouth Monday night (June 10). The first part of the answer was given Tuesday when Attlee delivered his report on the government's first ten months' work.

It was an impressive record. Britain's largest industry—coal mining—is about to be nationalized. The Bank of England has been nationalized. Bills have been introduced to transfer to public ownership civil aviation and cables and wireless. The greatest single group of social-reform measures taken by any country in the world is reaching its final stages. Social security will be greatly strengthened by the national-insurance and industrial-injuries bills. A comprehensive national health service was piloted by Aneurin Bevan.

Against this background of social transformation, servicemen have been smoothly demobilized, prices kept steady. Store shelves are gradually filling; exports are mounting rapidly and all preparations are being made to build millions of houses for low-income groups and replan congested cities. It became clear after Attlee's tumultuous reception that the delegates were satisfied with Labor's domestic policy. But would Bevin win a vote of confidence as overwhelming as the support the parliamentary Labor Party recently gave him?

The final part of the answer was given Wednesday. The day began with one delegate after another proposing critical resolutions asking economic sanctions against Franco Spain, a spring cleaning of the diplomatic service, a Jewish state in Palestine and a declaration for world peace based on a foreign policy of firm friendship with the Soviet. This last resolution ended by demanding the repudiation of "Mr. Churchill's defeatist proposal to make the British Commonwealth a mere satellite of American monopoly capitalism which will inevitably lead to our being aligned in a partnership of hostility to Russia." Applause greeted its proponents. Comparison was made between Britain's trade-disputes bill repealing the Tory post-General-Strike Act victimizing unions, and America's anti-strike bill, and a forecast given of the effect of an American business slump in Britain if the Labor Party became too closely tied to the United States.

But Bevin's reply in debate was overpowering. With a massive speech he killed every argument raised on the conference floor. He agreed that Franco must go, but felt that there was no gain if he were succeeded by a monarchist junta. Spain, which lost more men in the civil war than Britain in the last six years' fighting, must be spared more internal strife. It is impossible to reform the diplomatic service in ten months, but a beginning has been made. Palestine must be a binational state within a Middle East Federation, not a purely Jewish state. He then ended by affirming a desire for friendship with Russia, but said that his every approach was rebuffed. At the forthcoming Paris conference he would try again and continue trying.

As a result, Bevin won his vote of confidence. All the hostile resolutions were either withdrawn or decisively rejected. After that, the vote against Communist affiliation—two and a half million against a half-million—came almost as an anti-climax.

The conference showed that the unions and members of the local parties were thrilled at Labor's unparalleled achievement at home and unwilling to attack the foreign policy of a government with such a record. There is still latent hostility to that policy, but today the Labor Party is united as never before.

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Rule or Ruin in Germany

by Alan Barth

AT THE ROOT of our problem in dealing with the defeated German people, there is a confusion and conflict of purpose. We have never fully decided whether to rely for future security upon making Germany impotent or upon making Germany democratic. Moreover, the conflict has been heightened by a growing competition, between the British, French and ourselves on the one hand, and the Russians on the other, to win the German people.

In certain respects, effective steps toward realizing the assurance of the Potsdam Declaration, that the "German people be given the opportunity to prepare for the eventual reconstruction of their life on a democratic and peaceful basis," have been taken in the American zone of occupation. After a faltering start, denazification is now being pressed with real vigor, if without much subtlety or sophistication. Any German occupying a place of authority or influence who had joined the Nazi Party prior to 1938 was thrown out of his job and restricted to common labor.

But the policy is deficient in its failure to catch Nazi sympathizers who, for one reason or another, had not become party members; and these were often big businessmen who had helped the party and profited from the Nazi regime. It is deficient, too, in that it excommunicated many who joined the party out of expediency or even, in the early days, out of political naïveté and then found themselves unable to withdraw.

The newly instituted denazification process to be conducted by the Germans themselves should be more discriminating. All Germans over 18, not merely officeholders, will be classified by boards of anti-Nazis in accordance with the degree to which they subscribed to Nazi doctrine. This will be done through individual hearings with a right of appeal. Very severe penalties will be meted out to those catalogued as "major offenders" or "offenders," including confiscation of property, permanent disfranchisement, permanent disqualification for any public office and for membership in a trade association or labor union, confinement in a labor camp and limitation of employment to common labor for a term of years. "Minor offenders" and "followers" will be punished less severely.

American Military Government has also encouraged German self-government and the establishment of democratic processes. The three *Länder* into which the American zone has been divided, and the *Länderrat* which serves them as a coördinating body, have laid the groundwork for a future German federal system, with emphasis on local autonomy. While all the actions of the *Länderrat* are subject to MG approval, the practice has been to recommend and advise, not dictate to, the German officials. In this, and in the encouragement of free political parties, democracy has been much more effectively advanced in the American zone than in any other part of Germany.

UNHAPPILY, there has been no comparable advance in economic democracy. The liberation of the German economy from cartelism and centralization of industrial control does not appear to have been pushed with anything like the same vigor, although there are men in OMGUS who strongly favor such action. To do them justice, it should be noted that the task is impossible of accomplishment in a single zone: quadripartite agreement is a prerequisite.

These implementations of the Potsdam Declaration are contributions to the reform of Germany. At the same time there are other aspects of Potsdam which impose rigid restrictions upon the German standard of living and shackle the potentialities of a people naturally ingenious and industrious. Their practical implementation is to be found in the detailed plan, announced on April 1 of this year by the Allied Control Council in Berlin, for reparations and the level of postwar German economy. In order to disarm the Germans industrially, it proposes not only an absolute prohibition on the production of arms, ammunition and implements of war, as well as all types of aircraft and sea-going ships, but also a reduction in the level of industry as a whole to a figure about 50 or 55 percent of the 1938 level. All industrial capital equipment for the production of synthetic gasoline and rubber and for a number of specified strategic metals is to be eliminated. The production capacity of the steel industry to be left in Germany is set at 7.5 million tons, the allowable production of steel at 5.8 million tons. Heavy industry in general is to be restricted to 35 percent of the prewar level, basic chemicals to 40 percent, machine tools to 11.4 percent.

With these restrictions, it is planned that the Germans are to be permitted three billion marks' worth of exports by 1949, in order to pay for essential imports such as food and the costs of occupation. It would be captious to complain at this stage about the limitation on exports. For under present conditions the possibility that Germany will be able to produce enough goods to export three billion marks' worth seems very remote.

Production in Germany is altogether hamstrung by

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Allied failure to carry out the terms of Potsdam or of the Control Council plan. Potsdam provided that "so far as is practicable, there shall be uniformity of treatment of the German population throughout Germany" and that "during the period of occupation Germany shall be treated as a single economic unit." And this treatment of Germany as a single economic unit was one of the basic assumptions stipulated in the Control Council plan. But every attempt to unify the German economy has been frustrated in the final instance by the French, who insist upon a settlement of Germany's western frontier as a prerequisite. The Russians or the British have thwarted our proposals for the adoption of common economic policies.

The zonal partition of Germany was made without taking economic considerations into account. Interzonal exchange is almost at a standstill. In consequence, very little production is possible. Opel cars, for example, are assembled in the American zone. But they require magnetos which are made in the French zone and carburetors which are made in the British zone. For the manufacture of either of these, steel is required from the British zone. To produce steel, coal must be mined, and miners must be fed. But the only part of Germany which has a food surplus is occupied by the Russians, who do not let their zone supply the others.

Potsdam and the Control Council plan, if actually carried to fulfilment, would permit Germany, at best, to achieve a standard of living equal to that which obtained there in 1932. The plan provides for "maintenance in Germany of average living standards not exceeding the average standard of living of European countries," excluding the United Kingdom and the USSR. Before the war, Germany lived about 30 percent better than her neighbors. When the other countries reach their 1938 standards, Germany is to be restricted to a national income 30 percent lower than she enjoyed in that year. We should not forget that mass unemployment, economic atrophy and the general hopelessness of the German people in 1932 were among the factors which brought Hitler to power.

But even a 1932 living standard is a vain hope if the German economy remains segmented. Under present conditions, the Germans have nothing to look forward to but progressive malnutrition and dependence upon the magnanimity of their conquerors to escape actual starvation. It will not suffice to give Germans the forms of democracy and deny them the substance. Democracy has its roots in opportunity; its essence is the chance it affords for realization of individual potentialities and legitimate aspirations. And it is precisely in this vital sense that we are denying democracy to the Germans while preaching and teaching the democratic process. If we really want a democratic Germany, instead of a fascist (or communist) Germany, we had better move to make it possible.

What Should We Do About Ships?

"Operation Plunder," Sixth Instalment

by Allen Bernard

OUR WARTIME DRAMA is rapidly drawing to a close. With the cessation of hostilities, the American shipowners swung into action on the last phase of "Operation Plunder."

This country emerged from the war with the largest merchant fleet afloat, comprising more than 62 percent of all existing ocean tonnage:

	1939	1946
World shipping (tons)	82 million	92 million
U. S. shipping (tons)	12 "	57 "

More than 54 million tons of modern tankers, cargo and cargo-passenger vessels were constructed during the war by the U. S. Maritime Commission, at a cost of about $15 billion in public funds. At the close of the war the Commission had some 4,324 new vessels available for sale to private owners. The problem was how to dispose of these ships to best advantage to the nation.

Last October the Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee, after more than a year and a half of study, brought to the floor of the House of Representatives a well considered ship-disposal bill. The shipowners, of course, were vitally interested. During the debate on this bill, Speaker Rayburn was forced to eject a paid representative of the American Institute of Shipping (the shipowners' association) from the floor of the House. The lobbyist was identified as former Representative Winder R. Harris of Virginia.

The bill, as finally passed by the House on October 2, set a floor on the price for which war-built government ships could be sold. Two amendments to protect the Treasury from further raids by voracious shipowners were also adopted. An adjustment of excessive total-loss insurance, paid by the government during the war, was provided for all companies applying for the purchase or charter of war-built vessels. A maximum was set on allowances of old vessels traded in on new: 10 percent of the construction cost of the new ship.

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Everything considered, this bill, while not perfect from the taxpayers' standpoint, nevertheless was accepted as a "moderately good" measure by Representatives who had fought the Maritime Commission and the shipowners throughout the war.

On December 18 the Senate passed a companion bill that was an anemic, emasculated version of the House measure. The Senate lowered the minimum price on tankers to 42 percent of wartime construction cost; it wiped out the adjustment of excessive wartime insurance; it increased the trade-in allowance on old cargo vessels by 30 percent, and on old tankers by 50 percent, over the maximums set by the House.

In conference the House conferees yielded on every important issue. The final Ship-Disposal Act, approved by both Houses of Congress last February, weakened or eliminated all the safeguards set up in the original House version. On March 8 the Act was signed by President Truman and became law.

CALLED a "two-billion-dollar blunder" by its critics, the new Act contains no provision for the requisition of the new government vessels at a fair price, without enhancement to the owners, during a national emergency. Nor is provision made for renegotiating any of the numerous Maritime Commission transactions, exposed in these articles, which cost the taxpayers billions of dollars during World War II. The adjustment of excessive wartime insurance payments alone, as provided in the original House measure, would have brought the Treasury a refund of some $100 million.

The new Act provides for a downward adjustment of prices paid by shipowners for new government tonnage during the war, to conform with the prices now set for surplus vessels of the same type. This section will cost the taxpayers at least $89 million.

The discount on war-built tankers which, Admiral Vickery had testified, the oil companies were willing to buy at 100 cents on the prewar construction dollar, represents an outright gift of more than $300 million.

The maximum trade-in allowance is very liberal; it will make the owners a gift of as much as $200,000 over the book value of their obsolete ships, will waste an additional $800 million of public funds.

Under the new Act a cargo vessel that cost the government $2 million to build can be sold for $700,000; a new tanker, which cost the government $3 million, can be sold to the oil companies for $1,260,000. As we have seen, in these articles, the shipowners received more than this for many ancient hulks requisitioned for title or sunk at sea during World War II. These payments generally were deposited in tax-free funds. The owners now can draw their money, get the new ships for old and take a handsome profit.

As a matter of hard, cold fact, the new Ship-Disposal Act can be considered satisfactory only to the shipowners. At a cost of $21 billion in public funds they have been able to amass tremendous wartime profits, greatly improve their financial positions, build up huge tax-free reserves, and now buy new vessels for the price of old. The public's money has placed them in a strategic position to dominate postwar world trade.

The new Ship-Disposal Act puts an official seal of approval on "Operation Plunder."

FOR MORE than a year members of Congress have urged a full congressional investigation of the wartime policies of the U. S. Maritime Commission and the War Shipping Administration; for more than a year prominent Administration officials, the powerful shipping lobby and their friends in Congress have struggled to avert such an inquiry. Early in June, following publication of the first articles of this series, joint resolutions demanding a full congressional probe of the $21-billion shipping scandal were introduced in the Senate by Senator George Aiken of Vermont, and in the House by Representative Richard Wigglesworth of Massachusetts. If these resolutions are supported in Congress, a full airing of the worst scandal since Teapot Dome is assured.

Prominent members of Congress also have asked for an investigation of the wartime profits of the shipping industry and the initiation of proceedings to renegotiate wartime contracts so as to recapture excessive profits. Two important steps in this direction already have been taken. Several months ago, Supreme Court Justice Hugo Black handed down a decision against the Waterman Steamship Corporation which opened the way to renegotiation of the notorious "Red Sea" charters, by means of which 19 shipping companies realized a profit of $26.8 million in lend-lease funds in 1941. In May, the Treasury Department moved to recover $40 million in taxes due the government on war profits deposited by subsidized shipping companies in tax-exempt construction funds. A thorough investigation of all wartime USMC and WSA contracts, followed by vigorous action by the appropriate government agencies, could bring about an estimated rebate to the Treasury of $200 million.

The shipping scandal of World War II has far broader implications, however, and merits even more attention by Congress than that indicated above. The fundamental weakness, capitalized by the shipowners and the government agencies involved, has been the vagueness and inadequacy of the Merchant Marine Act of 1936. That Act is still in force; it must be completely overhauled if the public is to be protected against future raids by the shipping industry.

The 1936 Act provides specifically for compensation to be paid owners of subsidized vessels requisitioned for title during a national emergency, but it fails properly to define the term "national emergency" and is extremely vague as to compensation due unsubsidized owners—and the latter make up 75 percent of our mer-

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chant marine. It permits the Maritime Commission to exercise its own discretion in deciding whether vessels shall be requisitioned for title or for charter, and allows the Commission considerable latitude in fixing charter rates, while failing to limit the amount of insurance liability the government may assume for a chartered vessel. And it sets no limit on the amount of profit a shipping company may extort from the Treasury in time of emergency. Hence the wartime abuses.

Despite the weaknesses of the 1936 Act indicated here, its purpose was clear: to prevent the ship operators from taking unfair advantage of the taxpayers in the event of a national emergency. Had the Maritime Commission under Admiral Land administered this Act with conscientious regard for its intent, the shipping scandal would never have occurred.

The only excuse for an operating subsidy is the plea that our impoverished shipowners cannot compete against cheap foreign competition without government aid. The falsity of this claim is established in the *Congressional Record*, in the following comparative figures showing the subsidy paid and the total profits of the subsidized companies between 1938 and 1941, before the United States entered the war:

Contractor	*Total subsidy accrued*[1]	*Total profit*[1]
American Export Lines	$ 5,084,756	$ 23,419,348
American Mail Line	710,446	3,681,780
American President Lines	8,598,917	13,493,216
American South African Line	365,698	4,701,771
Grace Line	4,269,350	10,495,924
Lykes Bros. Steamship Company	5,612,050	15,112,581
Mississippi Shipping Company	1,701,939	6,826,752
Moore-MacCormack Lines	3,898,227	24,971,412
New York and Cuba Mail Steamship Company	1,690,686	2,277,989
Oceanic Steamship Company	2,456,636	3,955,784
Sea Shipping Company	1,107,937	9,078,788
United States Lines (including charters, 1939-40)	7,233,978	12,666,839
Totals	$42,730,626	$130,682,235

The subsidy provisions of the 1936 Act are still in force. On May 21 the Maritime Commission designated 32 foreign-trade routes and a number of services as "essential for maintaining the flow of our overseas commerce" and thus eligible for subsidy—two more than were authorized before the war. Continued government support of the shipping industry will cost the taxpayers about $12 million per year in operating subsidies; construction subsidies and advances during the fiscal year 1947 alone will total approximately $173 million.

The subsidized companies represent less than 25 percent of our merchant marine. Before the war numerous American shipping companies operated vessels profitably in foreign trade and met "cheap" foreign competition without benefit of government subsidy. A study of the financial statements of the shipping companies, as set forth in the preceding article, discloses that the industry is in a stronger financial position today than ever before in its history. During the war its assets have multiplied many times; its reserves and undistributed profits have increased enormously; most companies have paid off all indebtedness on new vessels; many have retired outstanding bonded indebtedness. Why, then, continue government subsidies?

The 1936 Merchant Marine Act provides that shipowners may deposit any part of their income or earnings in a tax-free construction fund, to be used for the repair or acquisition of vessels. In practice this fund has proved a convenient means of evading federal income taxes and, during the war, of sidestepping payment of the excess-profits tax. It is a disguised subsidy which no other industry in this country today enjoys. The Treasury Department estimates the loss in legitimate federal income during the years 1941 to 1945, by this provision, at more than $40 million, and a final accounting may reveal it to be nearly $100 million.

For more than 25 years the shipping industry has enjoyed special government dispensations and protections such as have been extended to no other industry during the same period. Government aid put many of the shipping companies on their feet. The American merchant marine is today the largest in the world. It is in an incomparable financial position to wage a competitive war against the shipping interests of any other maritime nation.

The important issue we face today was put squarely up to Congress in 1935 by a special Senate investigating subcommittee:

> As between true government ownership and operation of a merchant marine, and true private ownership and operation, your committee would favor the latter.
>
> As between true government ownership and operation, and private ownership and operation subsidized by the government, your committee believes that government ownership and operation would best serve the interests of the people. . . . It is believed that loss and waste from such ownership and operation would be far less than that which inevitably results from the subsidy system.

Our shipping industry has come of age. The new Merchant Marine Act must be in keeping with the industry's adult status, putting it on a par with other private industry instead of maintaining it as a public charge. A continued refusal of the industry to accept its adult responsibilities inevitably must lead to further exploitation of the public, and eventually to the alternative which the shipowners fear more than death —and taxes: a government-owned and operated merchant marine.

This is the last in a series of articles by Allen Bernard, a free-lance writer living in New York.

[1] In all amounts shown, cents deleted.

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London Letter

The Exile Repatriated

It is six months since this displaced person returned to his native pavements after seven years in the United States. He is still in process of readjustment to changes in people and things, like many of his contemporaries who fought their war on more perilous battlefields. He finds it not so lonely after all to have been a civilian.

London is coming alive again, resuming the deep rhythms of its hard-won peace. After the fever of New York and Washington, London is a gentle and soothing mistress, rich in the variety of her moods, changeable as her feminine weather. He shivered for three months last winter, even in his long winter underwear, and found open hearths little consolation for steam heat. He is shivering again in the early English summer. But the London squares are green and gay with flowers. It is the first summer of peace, and there is a lilt in the walk of people. There are children everywhere. The nation is renewing itself.

He reads a great many newspapers every day. Most of them threaten him, tell him he is being trussed up in red tape and strangled by bureaucracy. He is, they say, starving, ill shod, threadbare, taxed to death. But from his bus-top seat, eastbound along Oxford Street, he looks out at the early-morning queues of office workers and housewives, waiting to buy coarse, semi-fashioned stockings. Most of them are smiling and laughing.

He has been eating potatoes, cabbage and boiled fish, or potatoes, cabbage and grilled soya sausage, for many lunch times now. He is sick and tired of them, but he will survive. There are many in other countries who will not.

The compensations are many. For the first time, he believes, a majority of British men and women can call their government "We" instead of "They." He knows it is fashionable in some cynical circles of the Left to suggest that nothing has changed, that the same dreary set of politicians with different labels, names and faces is performing the same dreary parliamentary gyrations.

He knows that the nihilists and defeatists are wrong. The revolution under law, which began in May, 1940, and was proclaimed in July, 1945, continues in strong flood tide. It runs in familiar channels and employs the patterns of the past, but it is nevertheless a revolution.

In less than a year in spite of the jeers, catcalls and petty obstructions of a demoralized opposition, the nation has taken possession of the control of credit, and is on the point of recovering from its expropriators the major source of power. Soon the nation will administer the basic iron and steel industry, direct the flow of traffic along its arteries. It will plan the location of its manufactures, rehouse its slum-dwellers, guarantee work or decent subsistence for all and provide for the cure and comfort of its sick.

In the new House of Commons, he has seen the upsurge of life and vigor, disciplined by concentration on a common purpose, using customs and precedent to create a new world. Once in his youth he was vastly impatient of tradition, but now he observes how its best inheritance may be directed to the common good. He finds it difficult to express these things in other than *clichés*, but he has learned enough to know that *clichés* may be the shorthand of human thought.

Most of all, he is struck by the realization that freedom and a planned and ordered society are not incompatible, but are indeed their own complements. It is only now, he considers, that the freedom of the few is on the verge of being replaced by the freedom of the many.

He does not see about him Utopia or even Utopia's blueprint. War has left too many harsh imprints behind. Life is not easy. People are obsessed with the elementary problems of food, clothing and shelter. The national economy has been strained to the limit by the sacrificial cost of war. But he notes, as he never noted in the harassed pre-war years, the kindness and neighborliness of people. Dog-eat-dog is an abandoned creed.

Yet he knows with everyone else on the island that it is no longer an island. Promises will be unfulfilled and hopes will be frustrated unless the world finds escape from war. But less than a year after the end of the conflict, the war shadows lie heavily across the face of the earth.

He is not one of those who will accept without question the policy of his government in certain European countries and in the Middle East, or in some cases the absence of policy. All he will say is this: rights and duties incurred over centuries cannot be sloughed off overnight, and it ill becomes allies and neighbors who differ in fortune because of geographical or historical accident to behave as censors. He does not lack examples to rebut the myopic criticism that Britain, whatever her social change at home, still pursues imperialist policies abroad. He knows that in other circumstances of government, India would not be on the brink of freedom.

He is perplexed at times by the attitudes of other countries toward his own country. The obtuse surliness of the Soviet Union has turned sour the mood of affection and admiration which swept Britain in 1942. He sees a studied effort to belittle Britain's attempt to build her own democratic socialism, and wonders whether fear and jealousy that a humanist ideology may prevail over totalitarianism does not provide the mainspring of Soviet policy.

He spends much time trying to explain to his compatriots why America, which he loves dearly, treats Britain as though she were a pauperized relative, instead of a recent partner in the closest alliance two nations have ever enjoyed. He is often confused by America's seeming inability to project her solid totality instead of some glittering facet to the outside world, and wonders whose fault it is that to her neighbors the United States appears a country where strength lacks responsibility, mastery of technique is negated by fear and the fruits of victory are fed to pigs.

The private ambassadors of American free enterprise—movies and slick magazines, nylons and lip-sticks—all combine to perpetuate the wrong American myth abroad. But he knows an America outside of Hollywood, Rockefeller Plaza and Pennsylvania Avenue, and he will keep trying to explain.

JACK WINOCOUR

This is the first of a new series of letters from foreign capitals to appear regularly in the New Republic. – THE EDITORS

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The Bandwagon

"Although we have been accused of maintaining a dictatorship, I believe no other country exists with greater liberties. Our people are the only ones in the world with liberty to eat virtually unrestricted." – *From a speech by ex-President Edelmiro J. Farrell of Argentina, as reported in the Chicago* Sun.

The suggestion was made by Dr. Claudius T. Murchison, president of the Cotton-Textile Institute, before the Tufted Textile Manufacturers' Association last week that the appearance of scarcity at consumer levels is not proof that it actually exists. – *From the* Journal of Commerce.

It would be foolish of our people to indorse a civil war against Franco just because he was hospitable to Nazis and Fascists and continues to hide some of them. He had every reason to treat them well and they had every reason to expect much better treatment. That, as far as we know, he did give them because after all, they helped him and we, ourselves, would be dirty ingrates if we didn't show nice appreciation to foreigners who helped us in our wars. – *Westbrook Pegler in his syndicated column.*

Beau Geste

Addressing 3,500 persons on the athletic field of the Hempstead High School, where an altar had been erected for the services, Justice Walsh [of the New York Supreme Court], who is from Brooklyn, said he classed communism with "murder, abortion, mercy killing and all other interference with God's plan." – *From the New York* Herald Tribune.

Our readers are invited to contribute to this column; $1 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, care of the New Republic. *Please enclose the original clipping.* – THE EDITORS

Correspondence

That War We Fought

SIR: I really don't know which is more preposterous, Ralph Ingersoll's book or the various reviews of it. The *New Republic's* notice (by William Harlan Hale, May 6) was no worse, but no better, than those in the New York *Times*, the *Herald Tribune* and other places.

The significance of this book lies simply and solely in the fact that it makes revelations, the truth of which no one disputes, which place the Allied conduct of the war in Europe in an entirely different light from that in which it has appeared to the public up to now. Ingersoll himself apparently has only a slight awareness of this. He fills his book up with all sorts of trash, from inaccurate summations of battles and campaigns to long, wearying accounts of his personal experiences. This, however, does not change the fact that it is the first important, serious book on the war, and should be treated as such.

To talk disparagingly about fighting the war over again with words is silly nonsense. There is such a thing as history, and *Top Secret* should be reviewed on the basis of its importance to the history of the war. Before it was published, we didn't know Montgomery was a foul-up; now we know he was. Before the book was published, we didn't know Churchill was responsible for the eight thousand GI's buried at Anzio; now we know he was. Before, we didn't know the British government thought of the invasion of Western Europe in the same sense as the "invasion" of Greece, that a British staff had prepared an operations plan for a run-and-snatch invasion to head off the Russians in case of sudden German collapse. We didn't know the British army kept a pernicious monopoly on ETO Intelligence before the invasion, that Montgomery arbitrarily set the date back from May 1 to June, that it almost didn't come off at all. We certainly never knew the weird story of the landing craft for Normandy, nor the details of the cock-eyed command set-up in London in 1942-44. We didn't even know, for God's sake, what was decided at the famous conferences, and how much more was decided by the Combined Chiefs of Staff in between conferences.

It is also appropriate to observe that the book seems to have been handed for review exclusively to jokers who spent the war in higher headquarters, in London or Washington, where combat was carried on with the protocol and the hand salute. Several reviewers in particular (Prescott, Schlesinger, Hale) appear oblivious to the fact that a lot of poor bastards got killed over there. The whole level on which *Top Secret* has been discussed is one of vile snobbishness. Hale and the others all imply that such facts as Ingersoll presents are in bad taste and should be kept in the possession of high staff officers only.

The *New Republic* is apparently able to recognize the masses when they are wearing overalls, but when they are put into uniforms the camouflage seems to confuse everybody, and reviewers forget what the process of history is and whom it concerns.

New York City JOSEPH GIES

Encampment for Citizenship

SIR: Your readers may be interested to know of the Encampment for Citizenship, which will be held July 1 to August 10, on the grounds of the Fieldston School, just outside New York City. Approximately 200 young men and women, aged 17 to 23, of all races, religions, backgrounds and occupations, and coming from every section of the country, will get together with an unusual corps of orientation-discussion leaders, lecturers and guests. The chief purpose of the Encampment is to help equip youth to serve as citizens in a strengthened democracy and to build a future based on real and lasting peace.

Among the problems which will be discussed are the use of natural resources, minorities problems, labor-management questions, economic and political democracy, the United Nations, and the forces that mold American foreign policy. The guest lecturers will include Mrs. Roosevelt, James Loeb Jr., Carl Van Doren and Michael Straight. Information can be obtained by writing to Encampment for Citizenship, 2 West Sixty-fourth Street, New York 23.

ALGERNON D. BLACK,
New York City Society for Ethical Culture

From The New Republic Mail Bag

Mrs. Robert T. Goff of Mill Valley, California, writes that, instead of remedial legislation to curb labor alone, the President should sponsor legislation which would guarantee "genuine collective bargaining" and provide for mediation and arbitration. Mrs. Goff points out that management has, in the recent crises, often refused to bargain in good faith, provoking strikes and then using them to demand anti-labor legislation.

Jeanette Parker, secretary of the Lynn Independent Voters' Association, 23 Nahant Street, Lynn, Massachusetts, announces that the Lynn group has become affiliated with the Massachusetts Independent Voters, and invites *NR* readers in the Lynn area to join.

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Politics and the English Language[1]

IN OUR TIME it is broadly true that political writing is bad writing. Where it is not true, it will generally be found that the writer is some kind of rebel, expressing his private opinions and not a "party line." Orthodoxy, of whatever color, seems to demand a lifeless, imitative style. The political dialects to be found in pamphlets, leading articles, manifestos, White Papers and the speeches of undersecretaries do, of course, vary from party to party, but they are all alike in that one almost never finds in them a fresh, vivid, home-made turn of speech. When one watches some tired hack on the platform mechanically repeating the familiar phrases—*bestial atrocities, iron heel, bloodstained tyranny, free peoples of the world, stand shoulder to shoulder*—one often has a curious feeling that one is not watching a live human being but some kind of dummy: a feeling which suddenly becomes stronger at moments when the light catches the speaker's spectacles and turns them into blank discs which seem to have no eyes behind them. And this is not altogether fanciful. A speaker who uses that kind of phraseology has gone some distance toward turning himself into a machine. The appropriate noises are coming out of his larynx, but his brain is not involved as it would be if he were choosing his words for himself. And this reduced state of consciousness, if not indispensable, is at any rate favorable to political conformity.

In our time, political speech and writing are largely the defense of the indefensible. Things like the continuance of British rule in India, the Russian purges and deportations, the dropping of the atom bombs on Japan, can indeed be defended, but only by arguments which are too brutal for most people to face, and which do not square with the professed aims of political parties. Thus political language has to consist largely of euphemism, question-begging and sheer cloudy vagueness. Defenseless villages are bombarded from the air, the inhabitants driven out into the countryside, the cattle machine-gunned, the huts set on fire with incendiary bullets: this is called *pacification*. Millions of peasants are robbed of their farms and sent trudging along the roads with no more than they can carry: this is called *transfer of population* or *rectification of frontiers*. People are imprisoned for years without trial, or shot in the back of the neck or sent to die of scurvy in Arctic lumber camps: this is called *elimination of unreliable elements*. Such phraseology is needed if one wants to name things without calling up mental pictures of them. Consider for instance some comfortable English professor defending Russian totalitarianism. He cannot say outright, "I believe in killing off your opponents when you can get good results by doing so." Probably, therefore, he will say something like this:

> While freely conceding that the Soviet regime exhibits certain features which the humanitarian may be inclined to deplore, we must, I think, agree that a certain curtailment of the right to political opposition is an unavoidable concomitant of transitional periods, and that the rigors which the Russian people have been called upon to undergo have been amply justified in the sphere of concrete achievement.

The great enemy of clear language is insincerity. When there is a gap between one's real and one's declared aims, one turns as it were instinctively to long words and exhausted idioms, like a cuttlefish squirting out ink. In our age there is no such thing as "keeping out of politics." All issues are political issues, and politics itself is a mass of lies, evasions, folly, hatred and schizophrenia. When the general atmosphere is bad, language must suffer.

But if thought corrupts language, language can also corrupt thought. A bad usage can spread by tradition and imitation, even among people who should and do know better. The debased language that I have been discussing is in some ways very convenient. Phrases like *leaves much to be desired, would serve no good purpose, a consideration which we should do well to bear in mind,* are a continuous temptation, a packet of aspirins always at one's elbow. Look back through this essay, and for certain you will find that I have committed the very faults I am protesting against.

I SAID EARLIER that the decadence of our language is probably curable. Those who deny this would argue, if they produced an argument at all, that language merely reflects existing social conditions, and that we cannot influence its development by any direct tinkering with words and constructions. So far as the general tone or spirit of a language goes, this may be true, but it is not true in detail. Silly words and expressions have often disappeared, not through any evolutionary process, but owing to the conscious action of a minority. Two recent examples were *explore every avenue* and *leave no stone unturned,* which were killed by the jeers of a few journalists. There is a long list of flyblown metaphors which could similarly be got rid of, if enough people would interest themselves in the job; and it should also be possible to laugh the *not un-* formation out of existence,[1] to reduce the amount of Latin and Greek in the average sentence, to drive out foreign phrases and strayed scientific words and, in general, to make pretentiousness unfashionable. But all these are minor points. The defense of the English language implies more than this, and perhaps it is best to start by saying what it does *not* imply.

To begin with, it has nothing to do with archaism, with the salvaging of obsolete words and turns of speech, or with the setting-up of a "standard English" which must never be departed from. On the contrary, it is especially concerned with the scrapping of every word or idiom which has outworn its usefulness. It has nothing to do with correct grammar and syntax, which are of no importance so long as one makes one's meaning clear, or with the avoidance of Americanisms, or with having what is called a "good prose style." On the other hand, it is not concerned with fake simplicity and the attempt to make written English colloquial. Nor does it even imply in every case preferring the Saxon word to the Latin one, though it does imply using the fewest and shortest words that will cover one's meaning. What is above all needed is to let the meaning choose the word, and not the other way about. In prose,

[1] This concludes Mr. Orwell's article, the first section of which appeared in the issue of June 17.—THE EDITORS

[1] One can cure oneself of the *not un*-formation by memorizing this sentence: *A not unblack dog was chasing a not unsmall rabbit across a not ungreen field.*

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the worst thing one can do with words is to surrender to them. When you think of a concrete object, you think wordlessly, and then, if you want to describe the thing you have been visualizing, you probably hunt about till you find the exact words that seem to fit it. When you think of something abstract you are more inclined to use words from the start, and unless you make a conscious effort to prevent it, the existing dialect will come rushing in and do the job for you, at the expense of blurring or even changing your meaning. Probably it is better to put off using words as long as possible and get one's meaning as clear as one can through pictures or sensations. Afterwards one can choose—not simply *accept*—the phrases that will best cover the meaning, and then switch round and decide what impression one's words are likely to make on another person. This last effort of the mind cuts out all stale or mixed images, all prefabricated phrases, needless repetitions and humbug and vagueness generally. But one can often be in doubt about the effect of a word or a phrase, and one needs rules that one can rely on when instinct fails. I think the following rules will cover most cases:

1. Never use a metaphor, simile or other figure of speech which you are used to seeing in print.
2. Never use a long word where a short one will do.
3. If it is possible to cut a word out, always cut it out.
4. Never use the passive where you can use the active.
5. Never use a foreign phrase, a scientific word or a jargon word if you can think of an everyday English equivalent.
6. Break any of these rules sooner than say anything outright barbarous.

These rules sound elementary, and so they are, but they demand a deep change of attitude in anyone who has grown used to writing in the style now fashionable. One could keep all of them and still write bad English, but one could not write the kind of stuff that I quoted in the first part of this article.

I have not here been considering the literary use of language, but merely language as an instrument for expressing and not for concealing or preventing thought. Stuart Chase and others have come near to claiming that all abstract words are meaningless, and have used this as a pretext for advocating a kind of political quietism. Since you don't know what fascism is, how can you struggle against fascism? One need not swallow such absurdities as this, but one ought to recognize that the present political chaos is connected with the decay of language, and that one can probably bring about some improvement by starting at the verbal end. If you simplify your English, you are freed from the worst follies of orthodoxy. You cannot speak any of the necessary dialects, and when you make a stupid remark its stupidity will be obvious, even to yourself. Political language —and with variations this is true of all political parties, from Conservatives to Anarchists—is designed to make lies sound truthful and murder respectable, and to give an appearance of solidity to pure wind. One cannot change this all in a moment, but one can at least change one's own habits, and from time to time one can even, if one jeers loudly enough, send some worn-out and useless phrase—some *jackboot, Achilles' heel, hotbed, melting pot, acid test, veritable inferno* or other lump of verbal refuse—into the dustbin where it belongs.

GEORGE ORWELL

Books in Review

Thinking Playwrights

THE PUBLISHER'S BLURB on the jacket of Mr. Bentley's new book on the drama[1] not only quotes reviewers who tell us that here at last is a critic of the theatre worthy of the name, but that he is also twenty-nine, which is to say not yet thirty. This may or may not account for the fact that so many things are discussed in *The Playwright as Thinker*, so many dramatists, epochs, movements and theories—so many, indeed, that any mere writer, critic or even genius perhaps, could not always feel sure where to tread. Whatever its shortcomings may be, we can say at least that Mr. Bentley's is an unusually able book.

Within so notable a range of subjects *The Playwright as Thinker* manages to say a surprising lot, and amid so much knowledge, scope and even prophecy, to omit vast quantities of nonsense and vapor. The Foreword is a good start in itself, and the subjects presented thereafter are such as the two traditions that modern drama must cope with: tragedy in modern dress; tragedy in fancy dress; Wagner and Ibsen: a contrast; Bernard Shaw; varieties of comic experience; August Strindberg; from Strindberg to Jean-Paul Sartre; from Strindberg to Bertold Brecht; Broadway and the alternative; and then a series of notes on various authors and designers, critics and persons otherwise.

Mr. Bentley is both younger than I am and more amiable, for he seems to have read books on the theatre that after the first page, or after catching sight of the author's name, I should never have read at all. I should, in fact, confess to more limitation than that, really; for I have read very few modern books on the theatre art or the drama *per se;* they seem to me mostly rubbish and jabbering, mere theory lasting for a season or so, only to vanish in confusion and mist. I should not, for instance, ever have done more than a page in a book by a distinguished professor in which he sets forth the diversities between the art of the theatre and the art of the films, the discussion being based on the theory that the stage must always be limited and insincere and that there is little possibility of its delving deeply into the recesses of the human spirit. That is the realm reserved for cinematic exploitation, and, as the film more and more explores this territory, does it not seem likely that theatre audiences will become weary of watching shows which, although professing to be "lifelike" actually are bound by the restrictions of the stage? The deduction from all this is that the theatre will be doomed if it further pursues naturalism.

[1] **The Playwright as Thinker**, by Eric Bentley. New York: Reynal and Hitchcock. 390 pages. $3.

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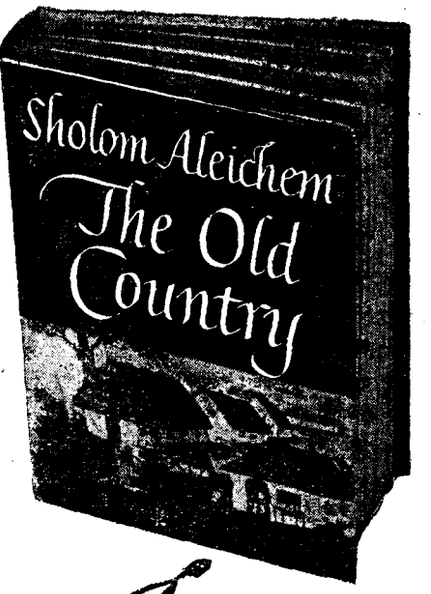
He made millions laugh...



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This is all such non-basic rubbish and such professorial nonsense, making up a book to publish, that we might well wonder that Mr. Bentley notes it at all. But he devotes several pages to the refutation and does it very well. I cite all this at length because it illustrates how throughout the book we have references to arguments, theories and standpoints that nobody ever heard of who knows intelligent people, but that must have some sort of sociological presence, at least, or our author would not trouble to demolish them. At times I almost felt that Mr. Bentley was setting up a straw man only to knock him down; but then I remembered some of the nonsense I have heard from people hereabouts who ought to know better. I decided, therefore, that he had read and heard no little nonsense, and felt fresh and fit to refute it. (The extent to which it is silly to be serious about rot remains to be considered, or responsive to foolish persons and vapid theory-riding. It may be morally right to do so, or philanthropic, or patient, or it may at least be young and advancing.)

I can read only a handful of languages and those with difficulty for the most part, but according to my lights I consider that the best work Mr. Bentley has done in this volume is on Strindberg; what he says is admirable, searching, often quite brilliant, and is sorely needed in our approach to that dramatist. I cannot read Swedish, but in the translations, which may or may not be adequate, I have long since apprehended these qualities. Mr. Bentley does for all intents and purposes a right justice to Ibsen, taking him as easily the most important figure in modern drama, that is to say since the Renaissance. His words on Ibsen are fine and glowing, and seem to suggest the element of excitement that those who speak Norwegian tell us are constantly throughout Ibsen's images, plus words that are tense, lovely and so vivid as to turn into travesty the dry dust with which the Archer translations fill the actors' mouths. Mr. Bentley needs to emphasize more fully that the preachy, dull effect of Ibsen, the reputation for this among us, is largely due to the translation. Ibsen serves this volume to express, or exemplify, its main thesis, a right and good one, which is that whatever happens about décor, acting, the director, the whole theatre art in general, the play remains the thing—all hope for the theatre must forever rest in the drama that it acquires, the plays it evolves or discovers.

As to this matter of translation, Mr. Bentley is not too clear about his readings. Duse, for example, told me that many of Mrs. Alving's lines in "Ghosts," rendered somewhat handsomely into Italian, were to her lying and abominable—I was unable to help Ibsen in this respect, though I did suggest that the tone, at least, a quality rarely mentioned in our dramatic criticism of him, might be inexact. And d'Annunzio's dramas achieve most of their tragic quality—denied them by Mr. Bentley—through the incredible orchestration of words. Of him I would say that I have never seen in modern writing so vast, erudite and passionate a flowering of words as d'Annunzio possessed. If we are to prattle of the Elizabethans and groan about the Naturalists' poverty of speech, we must give him at least this credit, making it clear, of course, that the Italian is untranslatable.

This book of Mr. Bentley's is worth reading. There are many sentences that cheap columnists might like to capture for their cheap purposes, though the original is not really cheap—such a remark, for example, as when the writer speaks of Expressionism as the attempt to seize the soul by the hair—very apt and very depressing were it not for the fact that Expressionism is as dead as any mummied cat of the Nile.

It is impossible to do justice to this ambitious book. People who know anything might make various notes from it; people who know nothing but are going to give a lecture could get hot thunder from it; people who never heard of the matter generally had better start lower down in the scale. This implies at least a certain Bentlian range. In a sense the bright shortcoming in the book is the author's lack of knowledge of the theatre. The real theatre—plays produced, lighted, set, directed. In this regard his opinion seems to me nil. I gather from the text that his presence at some theatre occasion would be worth little, though he might be good, taking the play as itself solely, on the future or the past for it. You can tell, from what he says about various plays, that he has never seen them produced, and that the acting values of various parts mean nothing to him, or little. Indeed there are many moments in great drama where the actor's voice would be the final test of the moment's power, but Mr. Bentley does not know that.

In conclusion I may say, modestly, that I knew both Lorca and Pirandello when they were alive, as well as Benavente (I don't know whether our State Department lets him live yet or not), without whom it is hard to understand the quality of Lorca. Mr. Bentley's comments on them are sadly external. Not that that matters, for in this respect he sees Lorca and Pirandello as merely experiment-

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ing toward something that he has in mind by way of thesis. On Shaw he is lengthy but somewhat arid.

This is an excellent book, to be read by people who want to read it. Its limitations are that the author does not always know the passionate depths about which he is talking. His estimates of Eugene O'Neill, for example, are not merely slight and superficial; they are really silly. They miss the essentially emotional, the gentle, passionate appeal of him at his best, the sense of inner pressure within his mood and stage power.

My last report on this volume—a really notable young volume in a minor way—is that it talks about art without ever being inside it. A real artist of the theatre would never feel that Mr. Bentley quite knew what he was talking about. The comments on Eugene O'Neill prove that: the deep feeling in his best scenes Mr. Bentley shows no knowledge of; he has no sense of passion's cost; he is glib and right where real artists lose their way. He is a busy student outside an art.

STARK YOUNG

The Current Historical Novel

Then and Now, by W. Somerset Maugham. New York: Doubleday and Company. 278 pages. $2.50.
The Romance of Casanova, by Richard Aldington. New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce. 344 pages. $3.
Land, by Liam O'Flaherty. New York: Random House. 356 pages. $2.50.
The Takers of the City, by H. R. Hays. New York: Reynal and Hitchcock. 376 pages. $2.75.
Past All Dishonor, by James M. Cain. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 233 pages. $2.
A World to Win, by Upton Sinclair. New York: The Viking Press. 624 pages. $3.

THERE has grown up among the reading public in the last few years a cult, and the object of its worship is an amorphous thing called the historical novel. To judge by the vast effort and the greater amount of paper expended to satisfy its appetite, it must rival in size and voracity the cult of the detective story. The productions in this genre are as diversified in character as in quality, but they have it in common, at least, that they are laid in the past, a world as remote to the general reader as any comic-strip dream of the future. Also, this form of entertainment often makes a claim of a pleasantly didactic sort to impart information. It is the history lesson of adult education; readers may assume that they're "learning something," but as any information to be found in such pages is usually in the form of interpolated lumps of erudition lately acquired at the public library, the historical novel is merely another vehicle of misinformation.

Mr. Maugham and Mr. Aldington use the historical device for purposes of romantic farce. The perspective of the past contributes a stylized effect formerly achieved by the device, for instance, of the mythical kingdom in a comic opera.

The hero of Mr. Maugham's period piece is Machiavelli, sent on this occasion as Florentine emissary to win the friendship of Cesar Borgia. During the intervals between political intrigue, Machiavelli becomes infatuated with the

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beautiful wife of a local merchant, and the substance of the story is the strategy he employs to overcome her scruples and dispose, temporarily, of her husband. The rather forced amusement of the book is in Mr. Maugham's trick of putting all the political wisdom of *The Prince* into the mouth of its author as a formula for conducting a love affair. Machiavelli's motives are simply defined in his repeated "I'm going to have that woman if I die for it," but his devious courtship includes all the shrewd political chicanery he recommended for conducting the affairs of state. He exploits the weaknesses of almost every character to achieve his purpose, but the great master of the psychology of corruption is kept skipping by the gambits of feminine caprice until he finally overshoots his mark. The title *Then and Now* apparently refers to Mr. Maugham's conviction of the abiding venality and absurdity of human nature, and in the spirit of this simple wisdom he sets his characters to work out their petty designs of lust and gain. He underlines his point with a motto which could serve, incidentally, as an epigraph for his collected work: "Plus ça change, plus c'est la même chose."

In the opening pages of *The Romance of Casanova*, the great lover is a crotchety old man, living on the skimpy bounty of a patron, complaining of his infirmities and writing his memoirs. He is visited by a former rival who maliciously points out that he, Casanova, the notorious exploiter of women, had always been himself the real victim, the dupe of the female sex, and never, for all his amorous adventure, really loved or loving. Casanova counters this original accusation by the story of his "real love." As the narrative progresses, what he intends as a vindication becomes nothing less than the supreme proof of the original charge. It is the record of his pursuit of the beautiful and mysterious heroine, who is leading the chase for purposes of her own up and down the length of Italy, through plots and counterplots, splendor and squalor, carnival and prison. Numerous other women cross the hero's path and complicate his route. The book is too long, and Mr. Aldington's ingenuity often tedious, but it is intelligent comedy, and the complicated, almost Jonsonian, plot contrasts with the simplicity of the hero and sets the sophisticated tone of the tour de force.

THERE ARE other writers of historical fiction who, but for the prevailing literary fashion, would have been biographers or informal historians. They are more immediately concerned with recorded incident, and usually make some claims to authenticity. In *Land*, O'Flaherty writes of the Irish Land Rebellion, but as the local uprising of his story is purely imaginary, he pretends to an authenticity of spirit rather than of fact. Those readers who possess a vague literary familiarity with recent Irish history, music-hall dialect and the poetic ramblings of clairvoyant old crones on the road will be comfortably assured that Mr. O'Flaherty is on the right track. The English landowners are represented by Captain Butcher, a figure of roast beef and bungling imperialism, flavored with sadism, while the people's cause is led by Michael O'Dwyer, a wild one who "sees beauty only in danger." His foil is a bankrupt Irish aristocrat who insists, in the opening pages, on his "purely personal attitude toward ideas and the phenomenon of life," but in all these novels of conflicting ideologies the

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rugged individualist takes sides sooner or later, and the aristocrat throws in his talents with the Fenians. There are personal interests involved, but they aren't very compelling in a novel where the sanctions for action are artificially defined with reference to a Cause. All the values are in capital letters, the dialogue in high generalities, and the important thing about any character is his party affiliation. There has been a slough of novels of this sort since the war, exploiting the struggle of various minorities against the enemy, but it is an adventitious formula, ignoring the problems of fiction in favor of the ends of propaganda.

In *The Takers of the City* Mr. Hays chooses a similar theme. Bishop Bartolomé de las Casas arrives at his new diocese in southern Mexico with instructions from the king of Spain to enforce the recent edict freeing the slaves. The problem of the oppression of minorities is a continuous human and social one, but Mr. Hays considers the particular historical situation and the moral problem in fictional terms, character and incident, not in the political terms of loyalty and faction. One's sympathies are not enlisted on the side of a good cause, but follow the fortunes of the Bishop's mission as it affects the fortunes of the characters involved. Of course the Bishop is hopelessly opposed to the ambiguous designs of the landowners who conquered the Indians by force of the sword in the name of the cross. And with the tactlessness of the visionary who lacks the worldly wisdom to effect his saintly intentions, he bungles his strategy, and at one point even loses the confidence of his little company of attendant friars, good, timorous and silly, teasing one another with texts from the early Fathers of the Church. In the crisis, the Bishop must retire and allow mundane authority to execute what he alone had the spirit to conceive.

MR. CAIN'S latest novel is simply his old story of the weak man and the ruthless woman dragging each other down to remorseless ruin, with the difference that the characters wear fancy dress and the story occurs in the mining West of the Civil War. A young Confederate spy falls in with a female adventurer who takes up her position at his side as he toughens, to whisper ecstatically when each new victim hits the dust, "You did that for *me*." As the frenzy mounts, the lovers stumble blindly over each other in a greed for which money (loot) is only the immediate and approximate satisfaction. For this little horse opera Mr. Cain makes some pretentious claims. He says, "I have tried to explain as plausibly as I can how a gunman got that way." There is no explanation, plausible or otherwise. The gunman "got that way" in a disintegration utterly meaningless, except that he just liked it that way. The characters are puppets pulled out of the old box of melodrama to go through their wooden routine to the tune of Mr. Cain's particular brand of Fate. He adds a claim to authenticity: "I have tried to present the life of the time as it was and as few people nowadays seem to realize it was." If that's the way it was, the few people who realize it are in Hollywood. All the research necessary for this work could have been gathered in an afternoon at a third-rate movie house. For the rest, the clichés of speech and the line of sentiment operative here don't antedate the prohibition era, and, as the story is told in the first person of the hero, these absurdities are inescapable. If Mr. Cain in-

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PRESENTS

The Little Magazine

A HISTORY AND A BIBLIOGRAPHY

By Frederick J. Hoffman, Charles Allen and Carolyn F. Ulrich

AS THE INNOVATORS and rebels of contemporary literature, the "little magazines" have had an influence far out of proportion to the number of their readers or their issues. The most brilliant and bizarre—*Poetry, The Little Review, Broom, Others, transition, The Dial,* for example—have been the advance guard of important literary tendencies. Theirs is a fascinating story of ideas, experiments in style, and fabulous personalities.

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In November, 1918, the *New Republic* was forced to raise its subscription price from $4 to $5 per year.

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Effective July 1, 1946, the subscription price of the *New Republic* will be $6.00 for one year, $10.00 for two years and $14.00 for three years.

Current subscribers have the privilege of renewing their subscriptions, but for *one year only,* at the present rate of $5.00 which will be maintained on all orders mailed prior to July 1st. No premature renewals for terms in excess of one year will be accepted, but all subscribers may avail themselves of a one-year renewal regardless of expiry date at the $5.00 rate if we are notified before July 1, 1946.

Circulation Department
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tended a little study in antiquity, he has achieved a major blunder in anachronism.

A World to Win is the most recent of the Lanny Budd series, which, from all indications, will continue as long as Mr. Sinclair and world history are in touch with each other. The hero involves himself in the recent war with the ubiquity of Superman and the anonymity of Everyman, and though the author claims a serious purpose for all this, it resembles nothing so much as a daydream at a newsreel.

JOHN FARRELLY

New Republic News

It is no secret to our readers that *New Republic* circulation is less than that of such behemoths as *Life* and the *Satevepost*. But luckily for us, reader response does not always go with circulation. Writers who appear both in our pages and in those of journals whose readers are counted high in the millions sometimes tell us that an article in the *NR* brings them five or ten times as many letters, and far better letters, than they get when they venture into slick paper amid the four-color advertisements.

• • •

We were reminded of this the other day when checking on what resulted when our own Ralph Martin went up to Harlem and reported on the Lafargue psychiatric clinic there, headed by Dr. Frederic Wertham ("Doctor's Dream in Harlem," issue of June 3). In the first few days after the issue hit the newsstands, the following things happened:

Contributions were received from several states, including $5 from North Carolina, $10 from Long Island (a higher-rent district) and $5 from a donor who emphasized the fact that he is a "white Southerner."

A doctor from Springfield, Massachusetts, wrote asking permission to come to New York to visit the clinic.

A New York radio station asked permission to put the story on the air.

A drug firm offered 35 pounds of vitamins as a donation.

A taxi driver, formerly a chiropractor, appeared in person, brandishing a copy of the *New Republic*, and offered two free evenings a week of his services and all of his equipment.

Ilya Ehrenburg, famous Russian novelist and journalist, who has been visiting this country, read the *New Republic* article, promptly demanded to know all possible additional facts, and put a spokesman for the clinic through one of his famous hour-long catechisms.

As we go to press, additional letters, checks and offers to help are still pouring in. Hint: the address of the clinic is 215 West 133rd Street, New York 30.

While we are being immodest about our influence, we'll record a pleasant letter from a subscriber and friend in the wilds of remotest Oregon. She writes in to report: "I would like to take this opportunity to congratulate you on your new format and your constantly good writing and good reporting. My husband and I are still avid readers of Ralph Martin, your editorials, Washington Wire (we tickle our imagination trying to guess who T. R. B. is—he certainly packs a wallop), and in fact there isn't anything we skip. As former New Yorkers now living in the Republican backwoods, we find *NR*, as we affectionately call it, a breath of fresh air. We have long read *NR*, but when surrounded by our liberal friends in New York, *NR* was the egg in our beer; now, being lonely but not tired liberals, it's the egg *AND* the beer."

• • •

Read the *New Republic* if you can't get eggs, or beer, is our motto from now on.

• • •

George Orwell is the literary editor of the London *Tribune* as well as the European correspondent for the London *Observer*. *Dickens, Dali and Others*, a collection of essays, was recently published by Reynal and Hitchcock. His controversial *Animal Farm*, to be published by Harcourt, Brace, is a reserve selection of the Book-of-the-Month Club. Mr. Orwell's article, which is concluded in this issue, is reprinted by permission from *Horizon*, a London monthly literary magazine.

John Farrelly has reviewed books for the St Louis *Post-Dispatch* and the New York *Times Book Review*.

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